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## Near East/South Asia Report

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17 June 1985

## NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

## CONTENTS

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

## ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

Turkish Media Report on Armenian Demonstrations Worldwide (MARMARA, 25 Apr 85) .....	1
Turkish President: We Do Not Have an Armenian Issue (MARMARA, 29 Apr 85) .....	4
Briefs Argentina Adopts Genocide Resolution .....	5

## ARAB AFRICA

## EGYPT

People's Assembly Debates Shari'a Laws (Mahmud Mu'awwad, et al; AL-AHRAM, 5 May 85) .....	6
Details Given on Navy's Organization, Units (Sana' Zuhayr Sharif; ISTRATIJIYAH, Mar 85) .....	12

## LIBYA

Tribal, Personal Interests Hurt People's Committees (AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR, 22 Apr 85) .....	20
---	----

## TUNISIA

Foreign Minister Discusses Maghreb Unity, Middle East Problems (Beji Caïd Essebsi Interview; AL-YAMAMAH, 3 Apr 85) .....	24
Revolutionary Coordination With Tunisian Movement, Iran (AL-DUSTUR, 22 Apr 85) .....	32

Islamic Tendency Movement Rebuts Allegations by London AL-DUSTUR (AL-RA'Y, 3 May 85) .....	34
<b>Briefs</b>	
Anti-Libyan Brawl .....	36
 ARAB EAST/ISRAEL	
 ISRAEL	
IDF Chief of General Staff Moshe Levi Talks About His Background (Moshe Levi Interview; YEDI'OT AHARONOT, 5 Apr 85) .....	37
 KUWAIT	
Composition of New Assembly Discussed (AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL, Mar 85) .....	53
Steps To Stimulate Economy Taken (AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL, Mar 85) .....	55
Central Bank Tightens Control Over Other Banks (AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL, Mar 85) .....	57
 YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC	
Formation of Islamic Banking System Urged (Muhammad Muslih 'Abdallah al-Tahish; AL-IRSHAD, Mar 85) .....	60
 SOUTH ASIA	
 INDIA	
Aspects of, Developments in Indo-U.S. Relations (Various sources, various dates) .....	67
Fears Over Aid Doctrine .....	67
Visit of Ikle Delegation .....	68
Superpower Rivalry Noted, by G. K. Reddy .....	69
U.S. for Closer Ties .....	70
Soviet Reassure India on Tourists' Visits (THE HINDU, 2 May 85) .....	71
Gandhi on Relations With Pakistan, Other Matters (THE STATESMAN, 4 May 85) .....	72
Paper Comments on, Publishes Text of Gandhi Will (THE STATESMAN, 3 May 85) .....	74



Mizo National Front Leader Laldenga Discusses Demands (Laldenga Interview; JANSATTA, 10 Apr 85) .....	77
Akali Dal Leader Meets With MP's, Suggests Steps (THE TIMES OF INDIA, 30 Apr 85) .....	82
Janata District Level Meet Plans Two-Pronged Strategy (THE TELEGRAPH, 30 Apr 85) .....	84
Correspondent Interviews Indian Youth Congress President (PATRIOT, 1 May 85) .....	85
Paper Reports on Developments in Akali Dal (THE TIMES OF INDIA, 2, 3 May 85) .....	87
Joginder Singh on Faction Dissolution	87
Reaction From Longowal	88
Papers Report, Comment on Defense Deal With Italy (Various sources, various dates) .....	91
Important for Self-Reliance, by G. K. Reddy	91
Defense Research Scientists' Fears, by Cecil Victor	92
Minister Asks Urgent Measures for Palestine Conference (THE TIMES OF INDIA, 2 May 85) .....	93
Commentator Welcomes Establishment of Intelligence Panel (Inder Malhotra; THE TIMES OF INDIA, 2 May 85) .....	95
BJP Opens Debate on Fundamentals, Reviews Actions (THE TIMES OF INDIA, 2 May 85) .....	98
Many Parts of Country Affected by Water Crisis (THE STATESMAN, 1 May 85) .....	100
Advanced Light Helicopters To Replace Navy's Chetak (THE HINDU, 1 May 85) .....	102
Papers Report 'Disappearance' of Radar Scientist (Various sources, various dates) .....	103
Earlier 'Defection' Reported	103
Setback to Radar Program	104

#### IRAN

Commentary by IRNA on West's Anti-Islamic Propaganda (ETTELA'AT, 2 May 85) .....	105
Afghan Refugees in Tehran Demand Withdrawal of Soviet Forces (ETTELA'AT, 28 Apr 85) .....	108

Islamic Conference Organization Blamed for Not Condemning Iraq (ETTELA'AT, 30 Apr 85) .....	110
Government To Transfer Companies' Shares to Workers (SOBH-E AZADEGAN, 20 Apr 85) .....	112
People's Role in Housing Construction Discussed by Official (SOBH-E AZADEGAN, 23 Apr 85) .....	113
Reconstruction Projects Accepted Toward Tax Payments (Fereydun Entezari Interview; SOBH-E AZADEGAN, 24 Apr 85) .....	116
Briefs	
Fars Developmental Projects .....	119

## PAKISTAN

Elected Officials Must Set Example for Bureaucracy (Editorial; NAWA-I-WAQT, 29 Apr 85) .....	120
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TURKISH MEDIA REPORT ON ARMENIAN DEMONSTRATIONS WORLDWIDE

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 25 Apr 85 pp 1,4

[Text] The 70th anniversary of April 24, which has been declared as "Genocide Day" by the Armenians, was marked yesterday in the United States, Europe and in all Armenian-populated centers of the world with various demonstrations, marches, ceremonies, lectures and exhibitions. In Athens, a group of Armenian demonstrators marched on the Turkish embassy and burned Turkish flags. Various groups made up of Armenian fanatics had been preparing for days to stage anti-Turkish demonstrations. Once again on this occasion they managed to disseminate their phony documents and false information over several European and American television and radio stations.

Meanwhile, the Soviet official press organ PRAVDA also carried an article by an Armenian fanatic in its yesterday's edition saying that "in 1915 Turkey committed the greatest genocide in its history." According to PRAVDA, during World War I the Turks uprooted 1.8 million Armenians from their homes and drove them to Iraq and Syria and in the course of that operation 1.5 million Armenians were killed. The paper alleges that the Soviet Union entered Armenia as a savior at that time and rescued its populace. It adds that thanks to the 1917 Russian revolution "the Armenians attained collective peace, freedom and security."

The PRAVDA article also finds the activities of the Armenian terrorists justified and says that "the present course of the Armenian terrorists can be explained as revenge for the events of 1915." The paper further alleges that currently 2.5 million Armenians live in Turkey.

United States

TERCUMAN's Washington correspondent reports that one of the traditional religious ceremonies held in the U.S. House of Representative was conducted by an Armenian cleric yesterday. The discussions in the House yesterday consisted primarily of speeches related to the baseless Armenian allegations. Congressmen who for some time have been busily working on having April 24 declared as a day of remembrance for "man's inhumanity to man" stepped up their efforts yesterday. Speaking on this occasion Democratic Congressman Tony Coelho said that Resolution 192 regarding certain Armenian demands should not have an adverse effect on America's Turkish friends because the main purpose of that resolution is "to show that the United States sincerely shares the pain and anguish of its Armenian citizens."

Meanwhile, California Governor George Deukmejian yesterday appealed a second time to President Reagan not to oppose House Resolution 192 and to endorse April 24 as a "Day of Remembrance for the Genocide."

The series of gatherings and ceremonies organized to promote the Armenian cause will end on 27 April with a dinner at the Hilton hotel in Washington. Governor Deukmejian will speak at the dinner, and President Reagan is expected to send a message addressed to all Armenians.

Meanwhile, it is reported that the work to collect signatures for the resolution regarding the "Day of Remembrance for the Armenian Genocide" is progressing and that the required 220 signatures have already been collected. In view of the fact that only 218 signatures are required for the House subcommittee to act it is clear that the stage is set to put the resolution on the agenda of the House. Under these conditions the endorsement of the resolution depends only on voting on the House floor.

According to certain circles, if the House approves the resolution it will be endorsed officially. While it is believed that the approval of the resolution may be somewhat delayed its passage seems to be certain. It is said in this connection that President Reagan opposed the resolution from the outset and that he will do his best to prevent its passage through Congress in order not to offend an important ally like Turkey and not to be unfair to Turkish-Americans.

#### In Greece

The most serious incidents occurred in the Greek capital Athens. While Armenian demonstrators burned the Turkish flag and assaulted the Turkish embassy building, Mikhalis Stefanidhis, vice-president of the Greek parliament, declared that the parliament will consider a resolution "which recognizes the Armenian genocide and which condemns Turkey in this regard."

The French ambassador to Greece also participated in the Armenian demonstrations in Athens on behalf of his government. The second secretary of the French embassy in Athens, Edmond Pabujian, who is an Armenian, caused a diplomatic row when he shouted anti-Turkish slogans.

Demonstrations and ceremonies were held in the sports arena in Nea Smyrna in the morning and in front of the Metropolitiki church in the afternoon. Later, nearly 1,000 Armenians marched toward the Turkish embassy shouting anti-Turkish slogans. The Greek police did not stop them and allowed them to march until the street where the Turkish embassy is located.

Meanwhile, a number of foreign intelligence agencies alerted Greek security officials about possible Armenian terrorist acts against Turkish diplomats and representatives. As a result, special security precautions were taken. Information reaching Greek secret services also indicated that Armenian terrorist might most likely stage operations in Paris, Athens and Rome. The Athens daily ELEFTHEROS TIPOS reported that tight security measures were taken around the Turkish embassy in Athens and Turkish consulates elsewhere in Greece.

During the demonstrations in Athens, the Armenians shouted anti-Turkish slogans and demanded that Turkey acknowledge the Armenian genocide. In Athens and in other Greek cities Armenian businesses remained closed yesterday as a symbol of protest. Armenian children did not go to school and Armenian workers did not report to work.

It was noticeable that most of the demonstrators were women, teenagers and elderly people who mostly placards generally saying: "Criminal Turks, our fighters are not terrorists." The demonstrators also had the insolence to burn two Turkish flags.

#### In Germany

The "Association of Endangered Peoples", an organization affiliated with the Council of Churches in the FRG, organized a gathering in Bonn featuring as guest speaker James Karnuzian, the president of the International Armenian Council. Karnuzian said in his speech: "Now we are weighing the benefits of Armenian terrorism for the Armenian nation against the harm it has caused. Depending on how we resolve these trade-offs we will adopt a new posture or we will continue our present course of action."

Karnuzian added that the FRG, like France, has shown a great understanding of Armenian rights and the Armenian cause.

#### In France

French Minister of External Affairs Roland Dumas yesterday attended the meeting of the French-Armenian National Association and said in a speech that France is anguished by the so-called Armenian genocide of 1915. He added, however, that the present Turkish government cannot be held responsible for events that have occurred in the past.

Numerous demonstrations and ceremonies were held in various parts of France to mark the 70th anniversary of 1915. The most notable of these ceremonies was to have been the dedication of a new Armenian memorial. However, the French government refused to grant permission for the memorial, and as a result the dedication ceremony was not held.

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CSO: 4605/164

TURKISH PRESIDENT: WE DO NOT HAVE AN ARMENIAN ISSUE

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 29 Apr 85 pp 1,4

[Text] President Kenan Evren yesterday dedicated the Cumhuriyet Square in Antalya and used the occasion to open the tourist season. Speaking on this occasion the President addressed several issues. Evren said that it is dangerous to recall the past on the occasion of 1, 14 and 27 May and added: "We canceled certain holidays so that bitterness among citizens can be forgotten. For the same reason, we did not declare 12 September as a holiday. It is dangerous to engage in provocation by recalling these dates."

The president stated definitively that there is no torture in Turkey. He said: "Foreigners talk to jailbreakers and enemies of 12 September and make false and baseless allegations. They also want us to change the Constitution. We do not change our Constitutions in accordance with the wishes of foreigners but by the will of the Turkish people."

Evren also complained about criticism against the death penalty and asked whether the detractors of the death penalty have read the second article of the Declaration of Human Rights.

Among other issues the President also referred to the Armenian question and declared that Turkey does not have an Armenian question. He said: "In Turkey, we have numerous countrymen who are of Armenian ancestry, but they are Turkish citizens. We have lived with them for centuries. In 1915, as a result of massacres committed by Armenians, some citizens were moved away from war zones and were forced to relocate in Syria, Iraq, Jordan and Lebanon. This is the whole issue. Now they are bringing an Armenian question before us. As long as we are strong and united they will never accomplish anything and we will move forward with big leaps on the road of civilization."

9588  
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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

#### BRIEFS

ARGENTINA ADOPTS GENOCIDE RESOLUTION--HURRIYET reports from Buenos Aires: As a result of the efforts of Armenians living in Argentina, the House of Representatives of the Argentine Parliament agreed that a genocide was committed against the Armenians and approved a resolution to that effect. In the coming weeks, the resolution will be discussed in the Senate and if it is approved by that body as well, Argentina will be the first country to officially recognize the Armenian genocide. When that happens, Argentina will officially propose to the United Nations that the other member countries take similar steps. [Text] [Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 29 Apr 85 p.1] 9588

CSO: 4605/162

PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY DEBATES SHARI'A LAWS

PM081723 Cairo AL-AHRAM International Edition in Arabic 5 May 85 p 6

[Mahmud Mu'awwad, 'Abd al-Jawad 'Ali, and Sharif al-'Abd report: "Broad Debate at People's Assembly on Islamic Call and Shari'a; All Political Parties Demand Laws Be Purged of Articles Contravening Islamic Shari'a"]

[Text] A broad debate took place yesterday on the report by the Religious Affairs Committee on the question of Islamic da'wah [preaching] and Shari'a during which 12 deputies representing all party and political trends spoke.

There was agreement between the deputies and the government representative on the need to implement Article 2 of the Constitution, which provides that the Islamic Shari'a is the basic source of legislation. The Assembly endorsed the committee's recommendations that the laws be purged of articles contrary to the Islamic Shari'a and that a suitable social atmosphere for that be promoted.

At the beginning of the session, which was chaired by Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub, Dr Muhammad Mahjub, the chairman of the Religious Affairs Committee, presented the committee's report concerning the purging of those laws that violate Islamic law.

The committee's report stresses that purging the laws of articles contravening the Shari'a codes is a public demand which the committee is anxious to carry out and confirm. The committee believes that it is essential to prepare the general atmosphere in the Egyptian society and this should be done together with the purging of existing legislation of whatever may contravene the Islamic Shari'a; society should also move gradually toward self-sufficiency and justice.

A debate on the question of implementing the Islamic Shari'a then began. Shaykh 'Atiyyah Saqr of the NDP said that Egypt, thank God, implements part of the Shari'a. It is among the best nations when it comes to understanding religion based on the sound creed, and it loves worshipping. But we want more, because a strong believer is better than a weak believer and preferred by God.

He added, "I would like to point out that our election campaigns were waged, among other things, on the demand for the return of the Shari'a. Voices were raised calling for the Koran to be our constitution and for the true



implementation of this and not merely the raising of slogans. Article Two of the Constitution states that the Shari'a is the source of legislation. This wording must be made a living reality."

He said: There is a social motive for the implementation of the Shari'a. If we are seeking to increase our resources and rationalize our consumption, this will not come about unless we deepen religious values that will do away with slackness and indifference and achieve greater development. I must stress that Islam is not a frightening specter nor a hanging sword; rather it is a religion of compassion, justice, and fairness.

Counselor Muntaz Nassar (opposition leader) said: It gives me pleasure to stand under parliament's dome on this historic day in order to greet the Assembly because it has fulfilled the promise it made when it issued a constitutional amendment providing that the Islamic Shariah is the principal source of legislation. The Assembly has been preparing studies since 1976 and has set up committees that passed many Islamic laws.

We support the purging of the laws from articles contravening the Islamic Shari'a. The committees must begin their work immediately and the government must submit the legislation which it deems completes the constitution.

We want our words to match our deeds, and I call on the legislation committee to hold a meeting to discuss the legislation whose drafting has been completed. We should begin, only with one single law. We all want to implement the Shari'a which the previous assembly endorsed and which was also approved by the Christian brothers, who have stressed national unity. The magnanimous Islamic Shari'a is the best help for them.

Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il (Wafd Party) said: What has drawn my attention in the committee report is that it calls for the purification of the existing laws in accordance with the Islamic Shari'a, but I would like to remind you of the assembly minutes that provide for the completion of the drafting of Islamic Sharia'a laws. These were specified by Dr Sufi Abu Talib, speaker of the previous assembly, who mentioned these laws by name. What the report under discussion today is demanding is a foregone conclusion. I have brought all the Islamic laws with me. Some of my colleagues and myself have signed a letter requesting that they be debated and renewed at this session. I will submit these to the assembly speaker.

Dr Rifa't al-Mahjub [assembly speaker]: These cannot be submitted to the assembly; they have to go through the committees in accordance with procedures.

Continuing, Shaykh Salah said: I will do so. All public referendums have shown that there is an almost unanimous popular desire for the application of the Islamic Shari'a, which preserves honor, property, and soul. There is no room here for gradual application of the Islamic Shari'a; gradualism took place in the early days of Islam, when the message was not complete. But now Islam is complete, therefore we should immediately begin by applying the Islamic Shari'a comprehensively, particularly since the bills were drafted several years ago.

Dr Ahmad Haykal (NDP) said: This is a momentous day for the assembly because we are discussing our holiest of holies, namely Islam. No party politics are involved in it, for the Islamic Shari'ah is above all parties. I beg the dear brothers to avoid excessive haste so that we do not err. We would like to be patient and wish our work to be done through exhortation and good counsel. There is no disagreement among us on the need to apply the Islamic Shariah; there is not one among us who would disagree with implementation, but each of us has his own views regarding the method of implementation. It is the right of all of us to exchange views. God's laws are the best laws for the people at all times and in every place. If the application of these laws failed in a certain country it is due to the rushed manner in which they were applied and to the method of their application. Speeding things up could have adverse effects that would harm the Islamic Shari'ah. I am pleased with the view of Shaykh 'Umar al-Talmasani [Muslim Brotherhood leader] who demanded that we take our time in implementing the Islamic Shari'ah.

He said: "The Shari'a does not end with the few specific mandatory punishments. It is a complete and comprehensive set of laws that cover all aspects of human life. The Shari'a must be incorporated thoroughly into the laws to deal with the needs of modern life, especially since Islamic principles are found in the Holy Koran and the pure Sunnah of the Prophet. Society must be correctly prepared for the application of God's Shari'a by cleansing society of all sayings and actions that are un-Islamic."

Ahmad Mujahid (Labor Party) said: If we wish to implement the principles of the Islamic Shari'ah we must organize the principles of the Egyptian society. I call for the application of the Shari'ah both in letter and in spirit because Islamic laws have come to secure freedom and strength for the Muslims and to liberate man from subjection to anyone but God. We must apply the codes of behavior in accordance with God's Shari'ah.

Mustafa al-Tawil (Wafd Party) said: There is no disagreement amongst us on implementing the Islamic Shari'ah because over the ages we have inherited some bad habits and traditions, which, unfortunately, still exist among certain people to this day. We should have recourse to subjective laws to eradicate them.

I am not in favor of applying the Shari'ah all at once. We must first prepare the atmosphere. If the Islamic Shari'ah is our objective, so is national unity.

Engineer Ibrahim Shukri (Labor Party leader) said: What is being discussed now was previously debated by the Assembly in 1978. And in 1982 the assembly speaker asserted that legislation had actually been prepared for the implementation of the Islamic Shari'ah codes, including the bill on civilian transactions. Therefore it cannot be said that we are starting all over again. We should take into consideration what the various specialized committees in the assembly proposed, committees that include ulema and scholars who had their own views.

Therefore I disagree with the report that says: Let us begin; rather we should maintain the continuity of the efforts made by the previous assembly. When we call for implementing the Shari'ah we are indeed calling for something that represents for us salvation from the present drifting and incongruities.

I am delighted with this step and believe that implementing the Shari'a in Egypt will serve as a model that the entire Islamic world will follow. I believe that bringing the Shari'a to implementation will restore to the Egyptian people--in fact, the Arab nation--its Islamic and Arab essence that we have been living without.

Hasan Hafiz said: The application of the Islamic Shari'ah is the hope of every Muslim and believer. We all, the majority and the opposition, believe that the application of the Islamic Shari'ah is a duty, but it is necessary to codify the questions that are not dealt with in the Koran or the tradition. I do not wish to speed things up or slow them down, but I want us to study the views of all the jurisprudence experts in all the Islamic creeds so that we obtain the best opinion suitable for the reality of the people's life.

Tawfiq Zaghlul of the NDP said: "I would like to deal with the report's findings concerning Islamic preaching. There are 150,000 mosques without preachers and numerous schools for the memorization of the Holy Koran have vanished. These schools formed the basic pool of religious students for al-Azhar, which provides preachers for the mosques. I also recommend that there be single uniforms for university coeds so that the universities do not become "carnivals" in which the soeds compete with fashions, something which encourages perversion."

The member stressed the necessity of successfully selecting mosque preachers who are educated and who can make religion relevant to everyday life and the new problems of the people. He agreed with those who called for the implementation of the Shari'a, but stated that this should be done gradually and deliberately so that no harm is done to Islam.

Sa'd al-Din Wahbah (NDP) said: There is not one single citizen in our country who does not look forward to a future when the Shari'ah will be the arbiter among the people. The Shari'ah rescues our society and future generations, but the only dispute is over how to take the first step.

I believe that the shortest way is to purify the existing laws. It is illogical for us to dump our laws into the sea and then begin laying down new laws, which would take years and years.

We in the SDP have asserted in our program the need to purify our existing laws, and the time has come to achieve what we have promised our people. There is no disagreement over implementing the Shari'ah by purifying certain articles of the law that contravene it. I would say that the invasion we are facing today is not an invasion by the force of arms but an invasion of the mind and an attempt to infiltrate minds. To confront this we must adhere to our religion. It will be a source of pride for the government and the esteemed assembly if we begin to do so immediately.

Counselor Hilmi 'Abd-al-Akhir of the NDP said, "I am in complete agreement with what Shaykh 'Atiyah Saqr and Dr Ahmad Haykal said because they expressed exactly what is in my heart."

"However, I would like to add that we are calling for the complete implementation of the Shari'a. It hurts me to hear some say that God's law has become open to negotiation when it is a divine law. Where is Islam now? I fear that it has faded away in Egypt. The committee's report, which is praiseworthy, issues a warning for us. Where are those who have memorized the Koran if the students at al-Azhar do not memorize the Koran?"

"The society needs to be strengthened in terms of religion because religion and the Shari'a are not only restrictions or obligations. Jobs have obligations, such as those of the farmer, professor, or doctor. I ask, where are we in terms of religion?"

"Assume we quickly implemented the mandatory punishments called for in the Shari'a. I do not exaggerate when I say that out of a million people you would not find one fair witness. A fair witness in Islam requires conditions that I believe do not currently exist."

"Moreover, who will implement the Shari'a? Islam and the Shari'a require the spirit and the letter. If I am not imbued with the spirit that the letter calls for, then I would be wrong to apply the letter."

"I call for the unification of all of the colleges of law and religious precepts so that they will become qualified to implement the Shari'a."

Dr 'Abd-al-Ahad Jamal-al-Din of the NDP said, "I apologize for speaking at this late hour after many others have spoken on a subject that is important and basic to our society and to the Islamic world. I commend the committee report, which is very thorough. Let me state that it is necessary to prepare Muslim preachers to continue to perform their role at home and abroad of spreading Islamic awareness because Egypt is a model for the Islamic world."

"A large portion of our laws currently in effect are drawn from the Shari'a which is thorough and enlightened. I hope that God will grant us success and that we will not do anything that is harmful to Islam."

Speaker Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub said: Some 45 members have asked for permission to speak, of whom 12 have spoken. I have received 2 motions: one from 36 members and another from 22 members, all of whom propose closing the debate. The assembly has approved closing the debate.

Tawfiq 'Abduh Isma'il, the minister of state for People's Assembly and Consultative Council Affairs, said in his comment on what the members of the assembly had raised that the subject of Islamic preaching concerns every Egyptian on Egyptian territory. He said that the government agrees with all of the recommendations concerning Islamic preaching and the role of the media in this field. He added that all of the political parties support the implementation of Article Two of the Constitution which stipulates that the Shari'a

is the fundamental source of legislation. He stated that from now on the government will take care to ensure that all new legislation conforms with the Shari'a.

The assembly ratified the proposal seconded by 50 members that the assembly should adopt the recommendations of the government and the Religious Affairs Committee concerning Islamic preaching and the Shari'a. The assembly chairman announced in response to the proposal raised by Shaykh Salah-al-Din Isma'il that legislation submitted by the previous assembly would be transferred to committee so that there would be no outstanding legislation before the assembly. He added that whoever wanted to submit legislation had to follow the legal procedure, which is to submit it first to the assembly's Proposals Committee.

The assembly will resume its deliberations this evening.

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CSO: 4504/329

17 JUNE 1985

EGYPT

## DETAILS GIVEN ON NAVY'S ORGANIZATION, UNITS

Beirut ISTRATIJIYAH in Arabic Mar 85 pp 34-39

[Article by Sana' Zuhayr Sharif: "The Egyptian Navy"]

[Text] Egypt occupies a primary strategic location. It is located at the crossroads of Asia and Africa, overlooks the Mediterranean and the Red Seas and through it passes the Suez Canal, an important passageway traveled by thousands of ships, in particular oil tankers coming from the Persian Gulf. All these facts and the Egyptian government's efforts to raise the standards of its naval forces qualitatively and quantitatively notwithstanding, these forces heretofore did not occupy a position that matched Egypt's importance and geostrategic position. Yet, it is still the largest Arab navy (in number and naval unit tonnage) and the most complete one (in terms of combat unit types and functions).

The Nile Delta represents the center of Egypt's wealth and is the richest area in the country, but it is the least able to confront danger in the event of attacks from the sea. Therefore, the greatest portion of the Egyptian fleet is deployed in the Mediterranean Sea. There are undoubtedly some naval units deployed in the Red Sea ports that are considered auxilliary naval centers similar to those the French and British navies once used in the Far East, for instance, before World War II.

The Egyptian navy still has a small number of naval units that once belonged to the British Royal Navy, but the fleet is mostly equipped with Soviet equipment dating back to the era of good relations with the USSR. Today, the Egyptian navy diversifies its sources of imported equipment due to the lack of an Egyptian naval industry. It was in this framework that Egypt asked Spain in 1982 to build it four "Augusta"-type submarines, scheduled for next year; two "Descubierta" frigates, which have already been delivered; and six "Cormoran" boats to be delivered this year. It also bought from the People's Republic of China four "Romeo"-class submarines and two "Hainan" and "Shanghai-1" boats. It may buy from China other vessels, including frigates and torpedo boats. Great Britain has contributed as well to the armament of the Egyptian navy, supplying it with six torpedo boats of the "Ramadan" class. Egyptian torpedo boats no longer depend on the "Styx" missiles only, but also use the modern surface-to-surface "Harpoon" and "Otomat" missiles.

## Organization and Function

The president of the republic is, according to the constitution, the supreme commander of the armed forces. He fulfills this task with the aid of the National Security Council and delegates to the minister of defense and the commanding general of the armed forces the responsibilities for discipline and combat training for the three armies (land, sea, and air) and for the command of combat operations. He is aided in the naval field by the commander of the naval forces, who is considered his advisor in naval affairs. In all these fields, the minister of defense acts through the chief-of-staff of the armed forces. The navy commander follows the orders of the chief-of-staff but maintains direct contact with the defense minister about anything related to the condition and status of his forces. The command headquarters of the navy commander is located in Alexandria (Ra's al-Tin). He has with his staff two practical commands, which are the Mediterranean Command and the Red Sea Command, whose headquarters are located in Safajah Port.

The main functions of the Egyptian navy are based on Egypt's geostrategic location. They are to:

1. Resist any danger coming from the sea, particularly the Mediterranean.
2. Guard Egypt's territorial waters.
3. Control the Suez Canal's north and south entrances.

## Naval Bases

Ra's al-Tin in the port of Alexandria is the main Egyptian naval base. It is the headquarters of the navy's general staff and its various schools and it houses most of the fleet units. It has naval workshops and other well-equipped means. The port of Marsa Matruh is but a supporting point which is now undergoing renovation. As for Port Sa'id, it serves as a support station, as does the al-Sallum Port located near the Libyan-Egyptian border. The Red Sea has a main base at Safajah Port (naval command center in this theater) and other support stations such as al-Adabiyah, Ra's Gharib and Ra's Banas; the last is used by the American RDF [rapid deployment force] and is a main facilities base.

## Structure of the Egyptian Navy

The Egyptian navy includes 33,000 men, of whom 1,500 are officers and 15,000 recruits. Naval crews are composed of volunteers and reserve recruits (normal service is 3 years). Officers are selected from high school graduates and are trained at the Naval Academy in Abu Qir. The course lasts 4 years and the size of each class is 50 students. After graduation, officers undergo practical combat training on the frigate "al-Rashid" (formerly the British ship "Spey"), of the "River" class. Higher training is conducted at the Naval Staff Academy for officers with the ranks of captain and commodore.

The overall weight of the Egyptian fleet is 50,000 tons and the most important units are:

- 12 submarines (8 Soviet and 4 Chinese).
- 5 destroyers (4 Soviet and 1 British).
- 5 frigates (2 Spanish and 3 British).
- 24 fast attack boats armed with guns and missiles.
- 22 large patrol boats.
- 14 fast attack boats armed with launchers.

In addition to these combat units, the Egyptian navy has:

- 6 Soviet T-34 ocean mine sweepers.
- 4 Soviet "YurKa" ocean mine sweepers.
- 2 T-301 Soviet coastal mine sweepers.
- 3 hovercraft boats (SRN-6) which can be used for laying mines.
- 3 Soviet (LCT) tank landing craft of the "Polnochny" class.
- 13 Soviet landing craft of the "Fedra" class and 4 of the "SBM-1" class.
- About 20 auxilliary units (ships and boats) which provide logistical support and port service.

The Egyptian navy also includes coast guard units equipped with 3 large patrol boats (weighing 110 tons) and about 70 American-, British-, Italian- and Dutch-made coastal patrol boats. As for the coastal defense units, they belong to the army but are supervised by the navy. Their armament is composed of 130-mm artillery batteries and "Automat" land-to-sea missile batteries. These missiles are directed against targets located behind the horizon by helicopters.

With the exception of the British Sea King antisubmarine helicopters (12 of them) and the French Gazelle helicopters (24 of them), which are armed with small antiship missiles, the Egyptian navy does not have a special air force. However, the air force provides it with cover and fire support by fighters and fighter-bombers. It also supplies it with reconnaissance data collected by Ilyushin-28 Hawkeye early warning aircraft. Coordination between the air force and the navy is carried out by air liaison officers attached to the naval command and naval liaison officers attached to the air force command.

#### Main Combat Units

- Eight Soviet Romeo-class submarines (four of which were manufactured in the PRC. Two of the four Chinese submarines arrived in Alexandria in March 1982 and two in January 1984:



- Weight: 1,230 tons (floating) and 1,700 tons (submerged).
- Speed: 15 knots on the surface and 13 knots under water.
- Range: 16,000 miles at a speed of 10 knots.
- Armament: Eight 533-mm torpedo tubes, 18 torpedoes or 38 mines.
- Four Soviet Whiskey-class submarines commissioned over 20 years ago and dedicated to coastal training or secondary operations:
- Weight: 1,080 tons (floating) and 1,350 submerged.
- Speed: 18 knots on the surface and 14 under the water.
- Range: 13,000 miles at a speed of 8 knots (floating).
- Armament: Four 533-mm torpedo tubes plus two 406-mm torpedo tubes plus 14 torpedoes or 28 mines.
- Four Soviet "Skory" destroyers built 1953-54. They are the "6 October," "al-Zafir," "Damiet" and "Suez."
- Weight: 2,240 tons at standard weight; 3,080 with a full load.
- Speed: 33 knots.
- Range: 3,900 miles at a speed of 13 knots.
- Armament: The armament of these units varies. They are all armed with guns except for "al-Zafir," which is armed with sea-to-air missiles. Armament includes:
  - Sea-to-sea "Styx" missiles (al-Zafir only).
  - Four 130-mm guns (except al-Zafir).
  - Two 85-mm guns (except al-Zafir).
  - Antisubmarine depth charge launchers.
  - Ten 533-mm torpedo tubes.
  - 80 mines.
- The British "Z"-class destroyer named "al-Fatih," purchased from Great Britain in 1955.
- Weight: 1,730 tons at standard weight and 2,575 with a full load.
- Speed: 31 knots.

-- Range: 2,800 miles at a speed of 20 knots.

-- Armament: Four 115-mm unibarrel guns, six 40-mm guns and four DCT anti-submarine systems.

- Two F-30 "Descubierta" frigates purchased from the Spanish Royal Navy when they were under construction. They are the "Suez" (formerly "Centinela" and the "Abu Zir" (formerly "Serviola"). They were delivered in May and July 1984, respectively:

-- Weight: 1,479 tons with a maximum load, and 1,233 tons at standard weight.

-- Speed: 25.5 knots.

-- Range: 4,000 miles at a speed of 18 knots.

-- Armament: Eight Harpoon antiship missiles (two launchers, each carrying four missiles).

--- Short-range sea-to-air "Sea Sparrow" air defense system.

--- One 76 mm "Oto Melara" antiaircraft gun.

--- Two 40-mm "Breda Bofors" single-barrel guns.

--- One antisubmarine rocket launcher with twin "Bofors" 375-mm barrels.

- Three British-made frigates: 1) the "Tariq," of the "Black Swan" class; 2) the "Port Sa'id," of the "Hunt" class; and 3) the "Rashid," of the "River" class. All these frigates are old models manufactured between 1939 and 1941 which were commissioned into the British Royal Navy during World War II and which joined the Egyptian navy between 1949 and 1951. Despite successive attempts to modernize these frigates, their outmoded models and armament, which is confined to 102 mm guns in an age when sea-to-sea missiles and antisubmarine systems constitute the main armament of this type of naval unit, rendered these three frigates unqualified to enter modern sea battles and forced their use for secondary missions. Accordingly, one of them ("Rashid") has been converted into a school for training officers.

#### Light Combat Units

- Six "Ramadan" missile boats ordered in 1977 from the "Vosper Thornycroft" Company in England and delivered between 1980 and 1982:

-- Weight: 307 tons with a full load.

-- Speed: 40 knots.

-- Armament: Four sea-to-sea "Otomat" missiles, one 76-mm "Oto Melara" gun and a 40-mm double-barrel antiaircraft gun (Breda Bofors).

- Eight Soviet OSA-1 missile boats:

-- Weight: 165 tons at the standard weight, and 210 tons with a full load.

-- Speed: 38 knots.

-- Range: 800 miles at a speed of 30 knots.

-- Armament: Four SS-N-2 "Styx" sea-to-sea missiles plus four 30-mm guns.

- Six "October"-class missile boats, adapted from the Soviet "Komar"-class boats. They have Italian diesel engines and were built in Alexandria in 1975-76:

-- Weight: 82 tons with a full load.

-- Speed: 40 knots.

-- Range: 4,000 miles at a speed of 30 knots.

-- Armament: Two "Styx" sea-to-sea missiles, two 25-mm guns, two 25-mm machine guns and two 7.62-mm machine guns.

- Six Soviet "Shershen" fast attack boats:

-- Weight: 145 tons at the standard weight, and 175 tons with a full load.

-- Speed: 45 knots

-- Range: 800 miles at a speed of 30 knots.

-- Armament: Two 3--mm double-barrel guns, one BM-21 multi-barrel rocket launcher and one SAM-7 sea-to-air rocket launcher. Two boats are armed with torpedos.

- Four Chinese Hainan patrol boats, two of which were delivered to the Egyptian navy in 1983 and two in February 1984:

-- Weight: 375 tons at the standard weight, and 392 tons with a full load.

-- Speed: 30.5 knots.

-- Range: 1,300 miles at a speed of 15 knots.

-- Armament: Two 57-mm double-barrel guns, two 25-mm double-barrel guns and four RBU antisubmarine systems.

- Two "Shanghai-1" Chinese patrol boats delivered to the Egyptian navy at the end of 1983:

-- Weight: 100 tons with a full load.

- Speed: 28 knots.
- Range: 800 miles at a speed of 17 knots.
- Armament: One 57-mm double-barrel gun, one 37-mm double-barrel gun, two torpedo tubes and eight DC antisubmarine systems.
- 12 Soviet "SO-1" patrol boats:
  - Weight: 215 tons with a full load.
  - Speed: 28 knots.
  - Range: 1,100 miles at a speed of 13 knots.
  - Armament: Two 25-mm double-barrel guns. Some of these boats are armed with light sea-to-air missiles (SAM-7) and some with two 533-mm torpedo tubes.
  - Six boats armed with BM-21 launchers.
  - 20 "P 6" Soviet fast attack boats, some of which have been taken out of operation:
    - Weight: 73 tons with a full load.
    - Speed: 40 knots.
    - Range: 600 miles at a speed of 30 knots.
    - Armament: two or four 25-mm guns (some of the boats).
    - Multi-barrelled 122-mm launchers (some of the boats).
    - 12 DC antisubmarine systems.
    - Two torpedo tubes on boats armed with guns, but not on boats armed with launchers.
  - Four Soviet "F 4" fast attack patrol boats:
    - Weight: 25 tons with a full load.
    - Speed: 40 knots.
    - Range: 410 miles at a speed of 30 knots.
    - Armament: One 14.5-mm double-barrel machine gun, one 127-mm rocket launcher and two 533-mm torpedo tubes.

- Six "Timsah" large patrol boats commissioned into service in 1981:
- Weight: 100 tons.
- Speed: 25 knots.
- Armament: One 30-mm double-barrel gun.

12502

CSO: 4504/323

TRIBAL, PERSONAL INTERESTS HURT PEOPLE'S COMMITTEES

Tripoli AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR in Arabic 22 Apr 85 p 3

[Article: "Tribal Coalitions!"]

[Text] In traditional systems, the parliamentary and political party systems, two or more political parties form a coalition party to get to power for the purpose of the minority ruling the majority. [This is] because the people are the ones who are absent and the modern-day tribe, "the party," is the one who is present and has mastery over the power. Getting out of this dilemma means breaking the monopoly of power so that the people's authority may become congresses that adopt decisions and people's committees that carry them out. This calls for terminating the various kinds of "tactics," be they in their old form as political parties or their tribal form. It is not right, democratically, that one tribe should rule another because the tribe, as a sacred league in a mass society, must not be shoved into economic, social and political matters (the society of the age of the masses, being a society of overlords who possess power, wealth and weapons and are naturally homogeneous and in keeping with the new socialist relations in power, wealth and weapons, actually resembles a large harmonious and closely-knit tribe and is not affected by the rule of any individual, tribe or family). However, the lack of consciousness is what led to what we are witnessing now through our monitoring of the promotion of the people's committees by the people's congresses in the municipalities. For those who advocate power for their tribe are socially and politically backward and therefore are against the people's authority and against the authority of those holding power [al-sadah].

Those who give banquets and prepare luscious meals and open their places to prepare the promotion lists on a tribal and personal interest basis are, in fact, enemies of the people. They disdain the people's authority and their only desire is to control the people's committees which are the executive tool they view through their personal interests and their desire to realize them. Even the former bourgeois contractors, merchants, businessmen and trade agents have joined in this time with all their capabilities, infiltrating through the gate of coalition and tribal alliance to prepare lists of those whom they see as tools for realizing their interests and for compensating them for their losses so that they may hinder the socialist applications and encircle and besiege the revolution.

A number of municipal people's congresses, which we have watched and followed on TV promoting their popular committees, incontrovertibly prove [the following]:

--The absence of an active, effective and motivating force, namely the revolutionary committees which a long time ago were supposed to raise the consciousness of the masses and uncover and expose their enemies.

--The absence of mass consciousness, for those who promote an unqualified, inexperienced and uncommitted person and refrains from promoting another qualified, experienced and committed person only because he does not belong to his tribe or is not a cousin, are backward, unenlightened people because they look through the glasses of personal interests alone and ignore the public interest and the decisions they ratified which require a tool able to force them.

--The domination of tribal forces over promotion: These forces have made tribal interests the pawn and the executive tool of the people's committees, replacing the people's decisions. For the people's committees that are promoted on a tribal basis cannot but carry out the tribe's programs in total disregard for the people's decisions.

--The indirect domination of the bourgeois forces over the promotion process through their tribal alliance and the passage of their plan to return to exploitation and realize their interests through tribal lists consolidated in bourgeois places of entertainment. For the bourgeois forces, who felt secure in their delusions and amusement places expect to reap the fruit of their efforts from the people's committees themselves, for they are the ones who brought this tribal alliance into being and the ones who brought back the election campaign scenario and the green, yellow, blue and black [ballot-?] boxes.

--The purchase of votes and conscience which we thought had been buried and trampled on ever since the dawn of the great day of 1 September, just as we trampled on the flag of Great Britain, the creator of parliaments and parliamentary councils.

The old scene of the sixties are exhibited by the bourgeois forces as a long dramatic movie running until 3 am the following morning: a municipal people's conference giving and taking away, one attacking and the other fleeing (one tightening and the other slackening), and the opposite goes for those who are loyal to the people's committee for justice. Each side clinging to the one it promoted: the tribal person clings to the member of his tribe and the bourgeoisie prepared the list which was approved in advance in a dinner party and all were purposely oblivious to their decisions.

They were oblivious to the specifications they had drawn up and the decisions they had adopted in a heated tribal atmosphere, underscored by the highly-experienced and hidden rancorous bourgeois forces.

They were oblivious to the leader's guidance and prodding, that the end of apathy, negligence, corruption, favoritism and patronage and the enforcement of the people's decisions can only be achieved by strong, able, effective and devoted people's committees.



People's Committees Promotion

Key:

- 1) Down with agents and upstarts
- 2) Long live the People's authority
- 3) Promote me and you will win this



The people's authority means that the masses decide and the committees enforce. Hence the people's decision hinges and depends on a promoted committee and on the fact that it is a question of interests. The mass interest lies in enforcing its decisions and realizing its ambitions for progress. Hence the true and direct mass promotion requires people and eyes who, when they meet in a people's conference, would have shed off all their tribal and familial ties and their selfish personal interests to promote people's committees in accordance with their decisions. What is left, therefore, is the matter that the conditions and specifications drawn up by the people's conferences are the criterion and anyone who does not meet these specifications must be dropped, regardless of whether he was promoted by a tribe or imposed by a clique. The responsibility falls on the secretaries of the municipal people's conferences who undertake what they call coordination between the symbols, "al-Kulsah" [As published] and the patrons of the places of entertainment behind the screen of democratic choice and under the slogan of tribal conciliation. They are responsible before the masses who possess the authority, the wealth and the weapons.

Will the masses settle this matter?

12502

CSO: 4504/325

FOREIGN MINISTER DISCUSSES MAGHREB UNITY, MIDDLE EAST PROBLEMS

Riyadh AL-YAMAMAH in Arabic 3 Apr 85 pp 36-38

[Interview with Beji Caid Essebsi, minister of foreign affairs, by Mustafa al-Khimari: "Tunisian Minister of Foreign Affairs to AL-YAMAMAH: Sahara Is Comprehensive Maghreb Conflict"]

[Text] Beji Caid Essebsi, the Tunisian minister of foreign affairs, praised Tunisian-Saudi relations, which he described as distinguished and as proceeding along an excellent line. He also noted that what has helped in this regard is the love, appreciation and respect which bind His Majesty King Fahd and President Habib Bourguiba.

The minister stated this during an interview with AL-YAMAMAH in which he dealt with topics of the hour. The interview was conducted to learn more about the Tunisian initiative to convene a Maghreb summit and about the reasons for the Tunisian decision to postpone the invitation for this summit. Following is the text of the interview:

[Question] You have recently announced before the Socialist Destour Party's Central Committee Tunisia's decision to withdraw its invitation for a Maghreb summit, justifying the withdrawal on the grounds of the fundamental difference between Algeria and Morocco over the Western Sahara issue. Can you give AL-YAMAMAH readers greater clarification on the Tunisian initiative?

[Answer] I believe that this question sums up what I said, but with a slight modification. I did not say that Tunisia has withdrawn its invitation but that it has decided to proceed with deliberation with its invitation for the summit because it believes that the element of time is important and because it wants to give the area's states a chance to get deeper into their dialogue. There is no doubt that the dialogue has produced a clearer vision and greater proximity in viewpoints. All that there is to the matter is that Tunisia took the initiative to hold a summit among the area's leaders. We took this initiative because we belong to this area and because building the greater Arab Maghreb is one of the Tunisian people's aspirations, and also because moving forward to build this Maghreb edifice and to visualize how we can structure relations between the area's states and create bonds of solidarity among these states has become necessary by virtue of the challenges being faced by all of the area's states, be they the challenges

of the battle of development and progress or the challenges of the environment in which we live. We belong to an area adjacent to Europe, which has united within the framework of a common market. This market is moving forward with strengthening its ties, expanding its sphere and implementing a "protectionist" policy toward the other states located along the southern Mediterranean, whether in terms of marketing the products of these states or in terms of their citizens' movements. Therefore, it has become necessary for the Arab Maghreb states to meet and consult so as to coordinate better their positions and their development and trade policies in their dealings with the environment within which we live. Moreover, there are more immediate reasons, including the presence of points of disagreement between the area's states and tension in their relations. We have been fearful of sliding toward a confrontation, since any tension or confrontation between some of the area's sides undermines the stability of the entire area. This is what made Tunisia move in the direction of a Maghreb summit in an endeavor to contain this tension and to create a new dynamism that opens the various channels of communication between these states and to replace estrangement by dialogue. We believe that this has been achieved, since there is currently an obvious dialogue between the area's states despite the presence of disagreement in viewpoints over certain issues. Because dialogue is the only means for the exchange of viewpoints and for an evaluation of the conditions, it is capable of sparing the area the dangers of confrontation. Therefore, I say in reply to your question that I did not state that there are fundamental differences between Algeria and Morocco but said that there are differences in viewpoints on how to solve the Western Sahara issue--differences that have obstructed a summit--without mentioning Algeria and Morocco specifically.

[Question] But your statement did speak of a fundamental difference.

[Answer] Without mentioning any particular side. I mentioned the difference generally on how to solve the Western Sahara issue because I see no reason for specifics. The fact is that disagreement exists among all the parties and it is certain that the Western Sahara issue is what has obstructed the continuation of the efforts for a summit meeting. Tunisia has good relations with all. Considering that it took the summit initiative, it cannot take the responsibility of inviting heads of state to meet in the country for the first time without securing the means of success for this meeting. In our endeavor, we have sought the principle of harmony among all. When we noticed that this harmony is nonexistent because of the Western Sahara issue, we realized that this summit may be flawed and so we decided to move with deliberation and to provide the opportunity for further dialogue in the hope of achieving the desired harmony among all.

[Question] By virtue of your contacts with the area's leaders, can you explain the prominent points of disagreement between the Algerian analysis and the Moroccan analysis because the features of the Western Sahara issue have become hazy to the public opinion?

[Answer] It is better to address the question to the two countries concerned in order to find out their positions. The only thing with which I can

answer as a Tunisian is that our position on the Western Sahara is clear. We support the principle of self-determination by the Saharan people. This principle has been approved by the OAU and Morocco and all the OAU members have agreed that the principle should be realized within the framework of a referendum. As far as I know, Algeria agrees with this tendency and Morocco is the party which proposed it to the Nairobi summit. But there is a vast difference between approving the principle and implementing it. The difficulties emerged when the parties concerned tried to conduct this referendum and failed. The OAU summit failed to implement its resolution. At the 20th OAU summit in Addis Ababa, another resolution was adopted which called for moving forth on the path of self-determination by means of a referendum, provided that the referendum be preceded by direct negotiations between Morocco and the POLISARIO. But Morocco expressed its reservation on the latter part of the resolution and has not agreed to hold direct negotiations. The issue is still floundering in this strait.

[Question] Tunisia's position was sensitive during the period in which the consultations to convene a summit were held. The minister of foreign affairs of the so-called Saharan Republic has criticized your failure to contact him during these negotiations.

[Answer] Tunisia's position is clear because it has not recognized the Saharan Republic. We have stressed that we support the African consensus which approved the principle of self-determination for the Saharan people. Tunisia is one of the area's first states to approve the right of peoples to determine their future because we consider this a natural right of all peoples. Because the OAU called for the exercise of this right through a referendum, we have said, with a degree of logic, that as long as the Saharan people have not exercised their right to determine their future through a referendum, then either recognition or non-recognition of Saharan Republic are premature. Tunisia does not wish to anticipate developments.

[Question] But this position has not prevented the development of a misunderstanding between Tunisia and Morocco, especially after Tunisia voted in favor of a motion submitted by Algeria to the UN General Assembly.

[Answer] Tunisia's foreign policy is founded on invariables and principles. There is no doubt that our respect for our principles may embarrass some and anger others. We regret this because Tunisia is eager to preserve its distinguished relations with all of the area's states and because it considers these relations a fundamental condition for insuring peace, security and stability in the area and for spreading the idea of achieving a [greater] Arab Maghreb someday. This edifice currently lacks the proper environment. Our position has been known to all for a long time. We are delighted because all of the area's states have preserved their pure relations with Tunisia. Today, and while I am talking with you, Tunisia has good and distinguished relations with fraternal Morocco, with Mauritania, with Algeria and with the Libyan Jamahiriyah.

[Question] It has been reiterated that Tunisian-Algerian relations may experience further positive changes, especially if the desired Maghreb edifice is delayed.

[Answer] Tunisia is against the policy of axes and I believe that Algeria holds the same viewpoint. When we concluded the fraternity and concord treaty with Algeria, we made this treaty open to all and we presented it to all of the area's states. However, I believe that it is in the interest of Tunisia and of all the Maghreb states to diversify and expand their cooperation. Tunisia has the political will to diversify and strengthen its cooperation with Algeria in all spheres. But his will is also present toward all and it is not displayed toward one state at the expense of another state or other states.

[Question] Mr Minister, it has been reiterated that the Tunisian community in the Libyan Jamahiriyah has been subjected to acts of harassment. What is the nature of this harassment and what is the Tunisian government's position toward it?

[Answer] The Libyan Jamahiriyah is a neighbor and a neighbor is a neighbor even if he acts unjustly. We will remain neighbors until God inherits the earth and whatever is on it, and He is the best of heirs. We say that differences or problems may rise between neighbors and that good sense and policy dictate that such issues and problems be tackled in a neighborly manner. This is the course Tunisia has followed since the current cabinet was formed. We have had a continuous dialogue with the Libyan Jamahiriyah. Since we started this dialogue, it has resulted in the normalization of our relations and in creating a cooperation that is expanding gradually according to our interests. There are nearly 100,000 Tunisians in the Jamahiriyah. This presence has its positive and its negative aspects. We understand that the Jamahiriyah has its own pressures. The Libyan people's committees considered at one time making a decision to dispense with foreign labor, including Tunisian labor, which is considered foreign in accordance with international law. We made contacts with the Libyan side and we agreed that any change in the status of the Libyan community there--a community whose members work in Libya in accordance with government contracts and agreements--must be preceded by a dialogue between the two countries' officials to consider the rights and duties of each side. There is no doubt that this dialogue always results in agreement. In reply to your answer, it is also true that there is a declared intention on the part of some Libyan circles to consider changing the terms of the contracts of the Tunisians working in Libya. We will have a chance to discuss this issue with the Libyan side.

[Question] The Iraq-Iran war is undergoing a serious escalation. We know that you talked by telephone with Tariq 'Aziz, your Iraqi counterpart. Do you intend to reinforce the efforts being exerted to put an end to this war by embarking on a Tunisian endeavor?

[Answer] Contacts between us are normal. Our relations with Iraq are good, as they are with the fraternal Muslim Iranian people. President Bourguiba has kept in touch with the developments of the war since its eruption and has let no opportunity pass without expressing his concern. We have tried repeatedly to exert efforts to end this war. Unfortunately, all these efforts have produced no noteworthy results, despite Iraq's

readiness to respond to the peace appeals. We do not despair and we will continue our efforts because we believe that termination of the war is in the interest of all and that its continuation will undermine Iraq's and Iran's interests and will harm world peace and security.

[Question] The Arab seven-member committee, of which you are a member, has contacted a number of Western and foreign capitals to make them aware of the danger of the Iraq-Iran war.

[Answer] The seven-member committee's task is to make the countries that deal with Iran, either by supplying it with weapons or by dealing with it commercially and providing it with the means to continue the war, understand that this war is harmful to all and that it is the duty of all countries to contribute to ending it. We have contacted these countries to put pressure on Iran to lead it toward negotiations. The other effort made by the seven-member committee was to contact the permanent Security Council members, since peace and security are among the Security Council's tasks. This council's permanent members have a strong influence by virtue of their veto right. We wanted to remind these states of their duties so that they can take the necessary initiatives to make the Security Council adopt decisive resolutions to end the drain of the Iraq-Iran war.

[Question] Do you believe that the latest movements cropping up in the Arab arena, including the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement, permit optimism regarding the possibility of achieving a satisfactory solution to the Middle East issue?

[Answer] I do not believe that there is a possibility for optimism. But Tunisia encourages every movement because lack of movement is a disgrace and inactivity is retreat. However, it is evident that whoever examines the reasons and causes and evaluates the conditions profoundly knows that the solution to the Middle East problem is tied to a change in Israel's policy. But Israel insists on its expansionist policy, is against peace and rejects all the peace initiatives. It has rejected President Reagan's plan, i.e., the plan of the superpower which is Israel's main ally. The fact is that as long as Israel persists in its policies of fait accompli and violence and still continues to receive strong support and sympathy from the major powers and from Europe, it is encouraged to persist in its intransigence and no hope is left for any progress toward a solution in the Middle East. The situation will also continue to be unchanged as long as the Arabs continue to be in their current condition of division and disagreement and, unfortunately, the Palestinians continue to be divided and in disagreement despite the efforts being exerted by the Palestinian leadership to unite and strengthen the ranks. Therefore, it is my viewpoint that a reasonable person cannot be optimistic at present.

[Question] Not even regarding the possibility of achieving an international peace conference?

[Answer] Israel and the United States are against this conference. This leaves no hope of its convocation unless agreement is reached between the

two superpowers, i.e., the United States and the Soviet Union. This is unlikely at present.

[Question] The events bring to mind President Bourguiba's proposal of 1965--a proposal which now has its supporters even though the Arab world opposed it strongly at the time.

[Answer] Regrettably, it is too late. A clear reference was made to President Bourguiba's proposal in the phrasing of the Fez plan, which notes that President Bourguiba's plan relied on international legitimacy to solve the Palestinian problem. In 1965, President Bourguiba called for an agreement similar to the 1947 UN partition resolution, which calls for establishing an Arab Palestinian state in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the United Nations. But then followed wars in which Israel annexed territories belonging to the neighboring Arab countries. If it were possible for President Bourguiba's proposal to be adopted today, this would constitute a revolutionary decision insofar as the Palestinian issue is concerned. Alas, we are much too far from this.

[Question] It has been reiterated recently that President Bourguiba will visit the United States and France shortly. Is this true?

[Answer] It may be.

[Question] Does this mean that an initiative should be expected from President Bourguiba, who has sent messages to President Reagan urging upon him the need to solve the Palestinian problem?

[Answer] It is true that President Bourguiba has corresponded with President Reagan in defense of the Palestinian cause. But I cannot discuss the issue of the visit before agreement is reached on it because it might be premature to raise this issue.

[Question] It seems from your questions that you are not optimistic regarding a solution to the Palestinian problem.

[Answer] No, I am not optimistic for the time being. But no right is lost when somebody persists in demanding it. The Palestinian cause is a just cause and there is no doubt of its triumph in the long run. But I do not believe that the projected peace initiatives have much of a chance of success in the immediate future.

[Question] Is there at least a possibility of uniting the Arab ranks?

[Answer] God bless you. I believe that the answer to this question is the most important one for the future of the Arab cause. It is important that the Palestinians exploit this circumstance to strengthen their ranks, to crystallize their ideas and to formulate a plan to solve their problem at the political and military levels. I also hope that the Arabs will devote primary attention to clearing the atmosphere among them and to uniting their ranks. These are conditions that must be achieved, and they do not exist at present.

[Question] Can the Arab summit, if destined to convene, provide these conditions?

[Answer] It is surprising that whoever speaks of the Arab conditions thinks of the summit as if it will make it possible to find a magical solution to the problems. To my mind, the summit is not an objective in itself. What is important is that good will develop and that there be the resolve to end the problems and disagreements and to speak with one voice.

[Question] The Arab League is an instrument for uniting the Arab world. What is Tunisia's position on the issue of developing the Arab League's agencies and charter while this organization is celebrating its 40th anniversary?

[Answer] Tunisia supports developing the structures so that they may keep up pace with the work for which this organization was created. Tunisia makes its proposals and always seeks to interact with the consensus because it is not important that we hold positions; rather, we must rally behind these positions the largest number of opinions possible so that we may move with the Arab League toward achieving progress and success in the league's mission.

[Question] The OAU is experiencing a crisis and has not found a way to elect a secretary general. We have learned that you submitted a Tunisian proposal to solve this crisis. What is this proposal?

[Answer] We have actually submitted a proposal because Tunisia, a constituent member of the OAU, believes that this organization is capable of performing weighty services for the African continent and that it is Tunisia's duty to preserve this organization which has faltered in recent years. This is something that has caused us to fear for the OAU's continuity and survival. It is well known that we have not succeeded in selecting a general secretary in the past two summits. This is an obstacle that prevents the organization from carrying on with its work. We have noticed that this has resulted from the observed practice of electing the secretary general from among French-speaking African groups. We have said that replacing this approach by the approach of consultation among all the groups representing the continent's countries, be they French-speaking, English-speaking or Arabic-speaking countries, can offer a solution to the problem paralyzing the organization. I can say that I am optimistic this time because I believe that there will be accord in the next summit on the issue of electing the general secretary.

[Question] The final question is a conventional one. What is the level of development in Saudi-Tunisian relations?

[Answer] Saudi-Tunisian relations are good and distinguished relations. We have an excellent political line between us and there is noticeable harmony in our positions. What helps in this regard is the presence of a relationship of fraternity, appreciation and love between President Habib Bourguiba and His Majesty King Fahd. We have good, important and growing



cooperation relations. We find it our duty to seek always to develop, entrench and diversify this cooperation. I cannot but laud the quality of these relations and express my satisfaction with these relations and with the excellent fraternal climate prevailing between the leaders of the two countries. I also cannot but underline the opportunities existing in our relations for consultation, for the exchange of viewpoints, for strengthening the bonds and for working jointly to serve the Arab and world causes. I will tell you that on numerous occasions, the positions of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and of Tunisia are united in serving the Arab causes, in bringing our viewpoints closer to each other and in pushing joint Arab action on the right course. This is a gain for both countries and an asset for the entire Arab nation.

8494

CSO: 4504/312

REVOLUTIONARY COORDINATION WITH TUNISIAN MOVEMENT, IRAN

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 22 Apr 85 p 9

[Text] In spite of the fact that Tehran did not agree this past January to the formation of what is called in Libya the "Arab Revolutionary Units," because of the existence of an agency bearing a similar name in Iran, which the Iranian government established the day after the Islamic Republic was announced, Iran did agree to a Libyan proposition to create a kind of coordination between the activities of the front which was announced in Libya and the front which was formed in Iran. This was after extended discussions in Tripoli between the Iranian ambassador in Libya, Hojjat ol-Eslam Khan-sari, and Dr 'Abd-al-Salam al-Turayki, the Libyan secretary for foreign liaison (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), in the beginning of February.

Immediately following the Libyan-Iranian agreement, a delegation of members of the Islamic Revolutionary Council in the World, which was formed last June in Tehran to supervise activities of revolutionary and liberation organizations, travelled to Libya! That much was acknowledged.

It must be pointed out, however, that each of these organizations has an official representative in what is called the "Islamic Revolutionary Council," which took the place of the Office of Liberation and Revolutionary Movements in the Iranian Foreign Ministry. When the Iranian delegation arrived in Libya at the end of February, Dr 'Abd-al-Salam al-Turayki was surprised by the presence in the group of some Tunisians, who said that they represented the "Islamic Tendency Movement" in Tunisia. The leader of the movement, Mr Rashed Ghanouchi, who had been arrested on 18 July 1981, with a group of cadres of the movement in Tunisia and then released after 3 years in jail, was absent from the meeting.

The Libyan foreign minister was not expecting non-Iranian representatives to take part in the discussions. However, Sabbah Zanganeh, the delegation chairman, explained to al-Turayki that one of the reasons for Iran's agreement to the Libyan proposal concerning the need for coordination between the High Islamic Revolutionary Council and the Arab Revolutionary Units in Libya was Teheran's satisfaction that the council and the front shared common goals which made coordination between their efforts possible. Whereas Tehran is able to direct its affairs related to the roles of revolutionary movements and organizations in the states neighboring Iran, and to export revolution to these states, it needs the help of Libya and its new front to export the

revolution to African nations, particularly Tunisia and Morocco. Sabbah Zanganeh added that Tehran is still not convinced by Libyan justifications of the Libyan-Moroccan rapprochement, but it will not object to it if Tripoli agrees to help Iran in matters related to the Islamic movements in Tunisia.

The chairman of the Iranian delegation informed the Libyan foreign minister that the Libyan effort to form a non-Islamic alternative for Tunisia, composed of communists and socialists in a united front, are in opposition to what Tehran - has been trying to achieve up to now.

Al-Turayki talked with one of the Tunisians, called Sadok Shimi, a representative of the Tunisian Islamic Tendency Movement, and he informed him that the Iranian deputy foreign minister, who visited Tunis at the end of last summer, was able, during his stay in Tunis, to contact one of the leaders of the Islamic Tendency Movement, and through him sent a letter to Rashed Ganouchi, the leader of the movement, notifying him of Tehran's decision to support the movement materially and morally.

However, because of the difficulties of travel to Tunisia and surveillance by Tunisia of Iranians living in Tunisia, Tehran was not successful in meeting its promises to the Islamic Tendency Movement.

Moreover, contact between members of the movement residing in Tehran and members living in Tunisia had become impossible in recent months. For this reason, the Islamic Tendency Movement needs help from Libya for its activities, particularly in entering and leaving Tunisia across the Libyan-Tunisian border. Tehran would undertake to provide the other needs.

According to diplomatic reports from Tripoli, Libya has not agreed to the requests by Iran and the Tunisian Islamic Tendency Movement immediately, but has delayed a month before giving a positive reply.

The Islamic Tendency Movement has carried out activities from Libyan territory since this past March. Libya gave the green light to members of this group to cross into Tunisia secretly. In addition, it agreed to give one-half hour of the radio program broadcast from Libya under the title "Voice of the International Revolution" to the Tunisian [Islamic] Tendency Movement to proclaim the establishment of an Islamic revolution in Tunisia.

Since this past 30 March, when the program aimed at Tunisia began broadcasting from a Libyan ship in the Gulf of Sidra off the Libyan coast, the Libyan-Iranian collusion against the Tunisian government has been uncovered by Tunisian authorities. Perhaps awareness of Tehran's plans and of Libya's actions lies behind the anger of Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba toward Colonel al-Qadhdhafi when President Bourguiba summoned Foreign Minister 'Abd al-Salam al-Turayki, and informed him that Tunisia will cut off the hands of anyone who plots behind Tunisia's back.

12780

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17 JUNE 1985

TUNISIA

## ISLAMIC TENDENCY MOVEMENT REBUTS ALLEGATIONS BY LONDON AL-DUSTUR

Tunis AL-RA'Y in Arabic 3 May 85 p 6

[Article: "Islamic Tendency's Response"]

[Text] London's AL-DUSTUR, which has pro-Iraq Ba'thist inclinations, has published an instigatory and suspect article claiming that the Tunisian Islamic Tendency Movement coordinates and deals to the point of plotting with the Libyan regime and Iran for the purpose of toppling the Tunisian regime. In this regard, the article has particularly said that the Islamic Tendency Movement needs Libya's support for its activities, especially in connection with entering and departing from Tunisia through the Tunisian-Libyan borders. As for Tehran, it is the side that will provide the movement with moral and material support. AL-DUSTUR adds that the movement launched its activity in Libya's territories and has acquired a share in the Voice of World Revolution radio to advocate an Islamic revolution in Tunisia.

The Islamic Tendency Movement, holding itself above sliding into a debate with such a magazine and with those who are behind it, is content to mention its constant principles and positions:

1. Rejection of all forms of change from above which overlook the situation and the awareness of the masses.
2. The movement's insistence on the independence of its decision-making, its opposition to all forms of subservience to any internal or external circle and its support for all the oppressed peoples rebelling against tyranny and oppression.
3. Its rejection of all means of clowning and demagoguery which have only further divided and fragmented our nation.

While mentioning these principles and positions, the movement denounces this cheap instigation, which we consider a pure lie, and declares that the contents of the article have nothing to do with reality because the Islamic Tendency Movement has no connection with any foreign regime or party. The individual named [in the article] has no connection with

our movement and is well-known in the political arena for his Ba'thist inclinations. It is no secret that this article is intended for deception and embroilment. But the movement wagers on the alertness of our people's masses who have expressed their solidarity with and support for our movement in its tribulation.

"And they plot and God plots, and God is the best plotter."

Tunis, 29 April 1985

The Islamic Tendency Movement

8494

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JPRS-NEA-85-081  
17 JUNE 1985  
TUNISIA

#### BRIEFS

ANTI-LIBYAN BRAWL--How rarely has the Olympic stadium in the Tunisian capital been turned into a boxing ring during an international sports competition. How rarely has the Olympic stadium, in the suburb of el-Menza, set a national attendance record. How rarely have the sides of the stadium been ringed with Tunisian flags of different sizes, in addition to the hats which represent the Tunisian flag, worn by more than 40,000 spectators. How rarely, also, international competition begins without the national anthems of both teams being played. But all of this happened on the 11th of April on the occasion of a soccer game between Tunisia and Libya in the first round of eliminations of the Africa Cup. Fights broke out between the Tunisian and Libyan players and turned into intentional violence when a decision ending the match was announced in the middle of the crowd's singing songs characterized by nationalism and zeal for Tunisia and love for President Bourguiba. It seems that the Tunisian crowd, in addition to favoring its national team, wanted to demonstrate to the Libyans following the tournament in Tripoli on television that the broadcasts by the "Radio of Hate," which is broadcast clandestinely in Libya, with news about the situation in Tunis, will not be able to turn them from their resolve to continue the course of integration with Algeria. [Text] [London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 22 Apr 85 p 11] 12780

CSO: 4504/333

ISRAEL

IDF CHIEF OF GENERAL STAFF MOSHE LEVI TALKS ABOUT HIS BACKGROUND

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 5 Apr 85 Weekend Supplement pp 7-9, 22

[Interview with IDF Chief of Staff Moshe Levi by Eitan Haber; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Who were the heroes of your childhood?

[Answer] Oh, I have to remember. I think that I was influenced very much by the members of the IZL [Irgun Tzva'i Leumi, National Military Organization] who went to the gallows. I was influenced less by the atmosphere of the Palmah [Pelugat Mahatz, strike force of the Hagana] about which I know much more today, but at that time I simply knew nothing about it.

[Question] Were you perhaps influenced by the IZL fighters who went to the gallows because the area in which you lived in south Tel Aviv was more pro-IZL?

[Answer] Perhaps. The period of my childhood was at the end of World War II and during the underground war -- Hagana, Palmah, IZL, and LEHI [Lohamei Herut Israel, Fighters for the Freedom of Israel]. It would be correct to say that in our area in south Tel Aviv, only a few people joined the Palmah. However, it would not be correct to say that I was only influenced by the immediate area in which I lived, by my home. I was also influenced by posters, newspapers, and later, books. Not by the radio because for many years we did not have a radio in our house. Not by a youth movement because I wasn't in a youth movement.

[Question] What was it about those who went to the gallows that influenced you?

[Answer] The struggle to establish the state of which they were a part. Also as a child, I lived in an atmosphere that it was necessary to establish a state.

[Question] Where did you live?

[Answer] In south Tel Aviv, in the Shivat Zion development, right about where the central station is today. In the beginning there were no regular streets. Later we lived at 10 Shivat Zion Street. We lived in an area that was part of the suburbs of Yafo, and now it is important for me to say to you that I did

not suffer for a moment from the contacts that we had with Arabs. Part of my family lives in Yafo itself.

[Question] And the house?

[Answer] It was a two-story house. We lived on the first floor in an apartment of three rooms -- and three families.

[Question] Each family in one room?

[Answer] Precisely. With a common bathroom. We didn't even have a kitchen. Mother had an alcove in the apartment, less than 1 meter by 1 meter. There she stood and cooked. The corridor was shared by three families.

[Question] Who were the other two families?

[Answer] The Eisenfeld family, one of whose sons is now a colonel in the IDF. The other family was of Syrian extraction. I don't remember the name at the moment.

[Question] Eisenfeld, Ashkenazis in a house that was completely inhabited by people from the Eastern communities?

[Answer] Yes, yes. Ethnic group integration was not invented in 1985.

[Question] Living in such crowded condition means friction, shouting, and fighting. Can one have a private life under such conditions?

[Answer] Today it seems absurd. Do you find it difficult to believe? There was friction, shouting, and fighting primarily among the children, less among the families. Every family had a specific area, and the fact was that we could live together. For example, there was a balcony that permitted entrance into two rooms that is to say two families. Then it was a joint balcony.

[Question] How can a family of six people -- parents and four children -- go to sleep in one room?

[Answer] We slept two in a bed. Afterwards, the entire room became one large bed. We would pull out a bed from under a bed and a box of bedclothes.

[Question] The atmosphere in those days, in the middle forties, was one of mystery, secrecy, and this certainly was the case in south Tel Aviv which was a stronghold for the underground fighters. As a child, were you perhaps influenced precisely by the external symbols?

[Answer] Perhaps, but also more than that. They fought to achieve something that I thought had to be achieved -- a state. A person must also be ready to do things not only for himself, and therefore, I was perhaps very influenced by those who went to the gallows. Personally, they could have avoided the hangman's rope had they only requested clemency. They spoke about a national value beyond life and not as a slogan. They truly sacrificed their lives.



[Question] Was this the result of "dribbling" of words at home?

[Answer] No. Not that they didn't talk at home, in the family, with friends. My father's influence was more on our whole way of life, not on this aspect.

[Question] Did you have a happy childhood?

[Answer] I had many happy times of my own that seem simple today. For example, walking on the Sabbath to meet with family members in a coffee house at a beach in Yafo. That was quite an experience for me!

[Question] And that's all?

[Answer] That's all? That was plenty. We went with my father, and we talked along the way. I remember visits to family members, especially to Abu Hayim. This man, Abu Hayim, opened a whole world of happiness and experiences for us. He was a sergeant in the Turkish Army in Iraq, and he was full of great stories including his immigration to Israel. A wonderful story. Incidentally, I cannot recall even one of these stories, but I remember well the atmosphere that the stories created for us. It was like from another world.

[Question] You lived six to a room, crowded, in one large bed. Did you know then as a child that you were poor?

[Answer] We weren't poor. In this regard, I felt no problem of poverty. My father had a share in a store at that time. He was not lacking for money. We did not experience hunger with nothing to eat. My father's attitude was to make a living from what you had. We had various ideas from others on what to spend the money.

[Question] Did you feel that you always had less than others?

[Answer] I was not inferior to the others. I did not go around with torn clothes because they did not buy me clothes. I don't want to make this period harder than it was. I think that we did not feel then that things were difficult for us.

[Question] Of whom were you jealous? Of what?

[Answer] I was jealous of anyone who had a bicycle. It was not financially difficult for my father to buy us bicycles, but bicycles were not in his world of ideas. Perhaps I was jealous of anyone who had a bicycle, but not to the point that I felt unfortunate.

[Question] Did you get pocket money?

[Answer] What kills me is I have to put all my experiences into the stereotypes of another world, the world of a large segment of the population. For example, do you understand the meaning of "Hanukah money?" Did you get any? And so, I did not get any Hanukah money. I got Purim money because there

was no money for Hanukah money. I had no idea then about pocket money. I would not have bought then a whole Eskimo. (How do you explain to the readers what an Eskimo is? Let's say the Artik of today.) The Eskimo was round and long, and you could buy pieces of it. I would buy the yellow piece for 2 mils [an obsolete coin worth at one time one thousandth of a pound].

Ruler over the Fingers

[Question] Did you buy books? Did you read books?

[Answer] The Sha'arei Zion library did not begin in Bet Ariela. It was in today's central station. I exchanged two or three books, about all that I could. I built a world of reading for myself since I was confined in a small space. I could not always see how squeezed I was, and therefore, I read. What did I read? Jules Verne excited me more than Carl May. I read many detective stories by David Tidhar. I loved to amuse myself in a world of imagination, going around the world. Incidentally, this did not make me a great tourist.

[Question] What did you want to be when you grew up?

[Answer] I didn't want to be a policeman, soldier, or fireman. I learned.

[Question] How were your grades in school?

[Answer] Good. I was a good student. Before I entered the first grade, we moved a lot. We lived in the Nordiya development, where the Dizengoff Center is now located. Later, a few months in Jerusalem. My father would say: I don't take out loans, we will live with rent. And this is how he pulled along his "nothing" for many years. A short time before the first grade we moved to the Shivat Zion development, and I went to the Bialik public school on Lavinski Street.

[Question] What subject didn't you like?

[Answer] I assume English, perhaps because of the British. To learn English was like identifying with the British.

[Question] Whom do you especially remember from your classmates in Bialik? Who achieved some status in his field?

[Answer] I will not mention names. Around the residential area was a mixture of produce sellers, peddlers, and merchants, and from these, in the next generation, came a pianist, a violinist, and a female doctor.

[Question] Do you still have friends from public school?

[Answer] No. Because of the military service afterwards. Also because I did not spend much time in Tel Aviv, I did not create any relationships. I occasionally meet with friends from high school.

[Question] Did your parents ever strike you?

[Answer] I don't remember any unusual experience of this type, but to tell you that I was never struck? There were times that I was. It was customary. There were teachers that hit me with a ruler over the fingers. These were intelligent blows.

[Question] Did your teachers in Bialik influence you?

[Answer] They did, for example my teacher Dov. For example, the principal. But this did not go beyond what was in the class. I was completely cut off. I studied and I went home. My parents never came to any meeting and never to "parents day." This relationship that exists today between parent and teacher did not exist with us.

[Question] Do you have moments of yearning for your school days, those days in the mid-forties?

[Answer] I don't hate those days. In retrospect, I loved the spirit of that time with the end of childhood, with less deviations from the values as they are today. I am not bothered that the conditions of today are more comfortable, that everyone does not sleep in one room, that there is a separate kitchen and a separate shower. At the time, I did not invite my friends to my home because there was no place to invite them, and this bothered me occasionally. What do you do with friends in one room? You go outside.

[Question] Are there things that you "drag" with you from those days in the Shivat Zion development?

[Answer] I had tried then with all my strength to make a small vegetable garden in my yard. Very little came of this. I think that to this very day I drag along with me love for farming. When I was released from the IDF, I was in a settlement and I worked in farming. What else do I "drag" with me from then? Respect for the flag. Together with my brother Barukh, we would draw the national flag on a page of a notebook and display it on the window-sill.

[Question] These are the things . . .

[Answer] No. I "drag" with me also the family nest. It explicitly wasn't an ideal nest. We were not mature enough to support each other. However, in our own way, we had a family nest that was the most important thing of all.

#### Religious Home

[Question] Do you remember your first meeting with the Arabs?

[Answer] We lived among the Arabs. Their carts were the means of transportation in the street and the vicinity. We would hang on to the back of the carts and occasionally get hit by the whip of the Arab rider. Believe me, I did not get angry at the Arab rider who raised the whip. The Arabs

were a part of our life. Many times I traveled on a bus at a cost of 7 mils to my father in the Carmel market in order to bring him lunch. The Arabs were part of the routine of life in the market.

[Question] Were you afraid of them?

[Answer] No. We lived together. This sounds nice, but this is exactly how it was. It was only in 1948, when they set up the defense wall in the Carmel market because of the sniping that came from Yafo, that the coexistence deteriorated.

[Question] What was the attitude to religious values in your home?

[Answer] Unequivocal: We had a religious home. I could not imagine then that one could be a nonreligious Jew. On weekdays we put on phylacteries. On the Sabbath and holidays we went to the synagogue. I will describe a childhood experience: On the holidays we went to the synagogue on Montefiore Street. It was rather far from our home. We had to cross a substantial part of Tel Aviv. I remember that once on Rosh Hashana we returned from the service and I saw a Jewish boy pushing a cart in front of him. I was really shocked. How could this be? A Jewish boy pushing a cart on Rosh Hashana? Not wearing new clothes? Not now leaving the synagogue? My religious world of concepts was full.

[question] When did you fall into bad ways?

[Answer] I don't remember the year, but I remember the event. I was a youth. I traveled to Haifa with a friend during the intermediate days of Passover. In the world in which I lived there was no bread on Passover. It never entered my mind that one could eat bread on Passover. Haifa was then a mixed city of Jews and Arabs. In the lower part of Haifa we ate pitas.

[Question] Did you tell about it at home?

[Answer] They didn't ask me, and I didn't tell about it. It was not a home of supervision, with the good and the bad -- and you can regard this in any way you want to. All of the holidays in my home have been kept in a completely religious environment, all of the commandments by my father, to this very day. There was one commandment that we could not follow: the building of a sukkah [a booth with a roof of branches and leaves that is used for meals during the Sukkoth holiday]. We didn't have any room for a sukkah. We would observe the commandment of the sukkah with people who were close to us in the vicinity. I also want to add that my father did not force us to be religious and to observe the commandments. Everyone at home felt that the observance of the commandments was a private matter. Incidentally, for a long time after my Bar Mitzvah, I still put on phylacteries.

[Question] Do you still pray today?

[Answer] Today I spend Yom Kippur in Jerusalem, in the synagogue and at the Western Wall. In my circumstances, I do not have the opportunity to participate regularly in prayers. However, I have no problem with prayers in accordance with all the customs of all the communities.

[Question] Did you disappoint your father in falling into bad ways?

[Answer] I assume that had I been more involved in the observance of the commandments, this would certainly have pleased my father. My way of life, my work, my studies at night, and the society in which I live resulted in my cutting myself off more and more from the observance of the commandments. No protest and no demonstration. Simply a process. . .

Not an Athlete

[Question] Who is your best friend, the one to whom you can pour out your heart?

[Answer] I have a friend who was a young officer with me, and today he is a businessman. He has a small business. I have another friend, Srul of the paratroopers. I also have an older brother to whom I am very attached and he has been with me from the beginning. I have friends in Jerusalem who are not military personnel. I have good friends. I do not have a personal close friend now in the top echelon of the defense forces. My way of life is such that I do not create intrigues, and therefore, I have no need for intriguer connections. I can speak very openly and frankly with people. This is my character. I definitely take counsel with many people in accordance with the subject at hand.

[Question] But when you are "on edge" and want to consult with someone and relate something. . .

[Answer] I have a wife. I don't put her on edge when I am nervous. But I am with her when I am nervous.

[Question] Do you sit with friends on Fridays, crack sunflower seeds, and complain about the situation?

[Answer] Last Friday I heard the choir of Hakibbutz Ha'artzi [the National Kibbutz Movement] in the mess hall.

[Question] In your childhood, in school, with whom did you identify more: with the intelligent child in the class or with the athlete, the strong child?

[Answer] In retrospect, less with the intelligent child because I had no problem in this matter. I was a good student. In such a case, I looked for the other side. I have no complaints about myself in terms of my physical ability, but I was not an athlete.

[Question] You, your generation, missed the opportunity for service in the undergrounds, the Hagana, and the IZL. Do you have any hidden jealousy of those who performed such service? If I am not mistaken, you are the first chief of the general staff who did not share in that experience. At a gathering of the Hagana or the IZL, you have no stories to tell around the bonfire. Do you have a feeling that you have missed out on something?

[Answer] I have had such feelings. But fate and history were such that we have had very much also since the Palmah, the Hagana, the IZL, and the LEHI. During my first period of service in the army I definitely had such feelings because the people around me and over me shared that action and that experience. Today I hear the stories of the Harel and Giv'ati people, and they are similar to many experiences that we, those who have served only in the IDF, have had under different names. I feel that I have missed a certain chapter, but I have not missed the experiences.

[Question] You told about the flag that you displayed on the windowsill at home. Do you believe in symbols?

[Answer] Except for empty symbols, I believe in them. I also believe in the lyrics of songs, songs that symbolize a period. I feel that the songs before and during the War of Independence influenced me. Their content, their melody, and the circumstances in which they were sung.

[Question] When you hear them today on the radio, are you moved?

[Answer] Yes. I am moved, and I am not ashamed to say they move me. I listen to "Hatender Nose'a," "Ha'emeq," and "Bab al-Wad," and I am moved. These are already not just songs, these are milestones. But in order to tell you what they symbolize to me, I would say that I have lived many years in Jerusalem, even before it was whole and united. To this day, including today itself, I am accustomed to moving around outside the Old City, and I mainly love to look down from the Mount of Olives toward the Old City.

[Question] Why actually did you not go to a regular high school? You said that your parents spared nothing in order for the children to learn.

[Answer] I did not balance my father's accounts, but my assumption was that I had to contribute something in order to learn. It was clear to me that I had finished public school and now I was able to work. During my vacations in public school I worked.

[Question] Doing what, for example?

[Answer] There was a soda plant in the Shapira development. They used to put old caps on bottles. My job was to use a hammer to open the metal cap. I was then 10 years old, and I was earning my own money. It was clear to me that I had to earn my own money. At times I was employed in metalworking with stamping presses, and at times in a bakery.

[Question] And high school?

[Answer] I studied at Erev Alef High School on Balfour Street, where the water tower is now located.

[Question] And you worked?

[Answer] At the Veteranary Institute in Mikveh Israel. I was a messenger boy, I worked a little in the office and a little with the animals. Afterwards, I went to work at the Bank Hapoalim Center at 27 Montefiore Street in Tel Aviv. I was a messenger boy. I rode a bicycle, carried checks and letters between banks, and I sat in the office and stuffed envelopes. To this day I remember well all the names of the kibbutzim and moshavim.

[Question] Whom do you remember from those days?

[Answer] Many people. The bank director, Barski. Gershon Marsa who has already retired. Rivka who is still with the bank. For many years after I stopped working there I kept in touch with them.

[Question] And the teachers from the Erev High School? Which of them left his mark on you?

[Answer] My Talmud teacher and my literature teacher. I had a teacher who taught me the Holy Scriptures, who taught me to love the Holy Scriptures.

[Question] Weren't you jealous of the Alef High School students in the morning, the rich kids of Tel Aviv, those who came to school with Raleigh bicycles?

[Answer] There were times when I was tired and disgusted, and then I asked myself, "why?" However, in the final analysis -- and this sounded like hypocrisy in those days -- it seemed to me that my way was a natural one, a normal road that I had to follow. I had a bicycle from the Bank Hapoalim, I was a messenger with a bicycle as they had required in the advertisements. After work, from 3 o'clock, I did my homework, and from 5 p.m. to 9 p.m., I went to school. At night, at 9 o'clock, I went home, to the central station.

#### A May Conscript

[Question] Do you remember the day you entered the IDF? Did your mother accompany you to the conscription office?

[Answer] Neither my mother nor my father did. I went to the conscription office in Yafo and from there to the reception and classification base in Tel Hashomer. I was in the May conscription, and it used to be said that the May conscription was of a lower quality than the July conscription, for example. To this day, when I meet with soldiers from the May conscription, I will point to myself and tell them: You see, you shouldn't lose hope. Incidentally, I found out that there have been and there are more than a few IDF generals who are from the May conscription. The thing that I remember most from that period was that they had decided to improve the Golani Brigade, so they said. They took six young conscripts.

[Question] You didn't try the paratroops, flying?

[Answer] I happen to have been tested for flying, but at the time they found that my body had grown too big in contrast to the development of the heart.

Incidentally, I was not a tall child. The growth was during my adolescence, a very significant growth -- and the pump was not suitable for the body. Just a minute, I remember that until they found me shoes in the reception and classification base. . .

[Question] It is possible that had you known more about the Golani in those days, you wouldn't have gone to their training base. . .

[Answer] I wouldn't have left. We traveled by Egged bus with a travel voucher to the north. We arrived, all six of us.

[Question] What was your attitude to the Arabs at the time that you joined the IDF?

[Answer] I joined in 1954. The state at that time had one thousand and one difficulties, mainly not involving security. Although there were at the time infiltrators and Fedayeen, I did not see them as a threat to the existence of the State of Israel.

[Question] Did you love Arabs, did you hate Arabs?

[Answer] I did not hate Arabs then, and I do not hate Arabs today. They seemed to me then, as they do today, to be a part of the world in which we live and a world that was also close to my family. I am a person who shared in many stories about Arabs, not all of them perhaps were positive. The nonpositive stories, in my opinion, were solved at the time of the establishment of the State of Israel, and we were no longer a protected people in Arab countries as my family was. The stories of the persecution of Jews in Arab countries did not influence me.

[Question] Many of your generation in the middle fifties joined the paratroops. How is it that you didn't?

[Answer] Because I didn't know much then about the paratroops, and I wasn't close to the stories about them. The red berets were then like the black ones of the armor and the green ones of the border guard, a part of the military force. My immediate vicinity wasn't close to the paratroops, not to the stories of the guys on Fridays in the mess hall, and not to the exploits in the press.

[Question] Who was your first commander in the Golani?

[Answer] You'll laugh. My first commander was Private First Class Danny Kaye, the same name as the Hollywood actor. Yes, that was his name. He was a private first class, and he was the most important man who did much for me in my first 2 or 3 months in the army. Our company commander was Major Danny Mitzpun whom we saw perhaps two or three times during the period of basic training, and the battalion commander was generally extremely remote.

[Question] Did you believe then and do you believe now that the Arabs want to throw us into the sea?



[Answer] I believe that the existence of the State of Israel disturbs very many Arabs. They definitely have the tendency to believe that the State of Israel will not last.

You or He

[Question] Many times in the military forces one does not see at whom he is firing. Did you ever see someone you were firing at?

[Answer] On more than one occasion, in retaliatory actions and pursuits. There is a poem by Gordon called "Bayn Hamitzarim." It has one line that reads: In the light of the firing, the men recognized each other. In the pursuits in the Jordan Valley I saw them, even their very eyes.

[Question] What happens then to a man who fires and kills?

[Answer] At that time? Very little. He has to fire and kill. It is a matter of fractions of a second: yes or no, you or he. And then you have no problem. I think that during the course of a battle no normal man has any problem in killing. This is the good and the bad in the matter.

[Question] Do you remember one incident of firing more than others?

[Answer] The incident in which I was wounded since the men did not fire when I told them to fire.

[Question] In that case they were firing at you. I meant when you were firing at others!

[Answer] In the Kinneret action in 1955. We were walking in a crouched position to the Kinneret shore. A Syrian soldier appeared in front of me. The incident took a fraction of a second: I jumped into a ditch, I saw him opposite me, I fired, he fell.

[Question] And then what goes through a Jew's mind?

[Answer] Nothing. I can now spout out all the theories of the war ethic, but at that time I ran, I saw an enemy, I was faster, and I fired. If you are not faster, nothing will go through your mind because they have fired at you and you die. You then have no problem.

[Question] Where did you go to in the Golani?

[Answer] To the Gideon Battalion and then to a squad leaders course in Ju'ara. We then went to an officers course in Kefar Sirkin, a regular infantry course. There were many paratroopers around us in the company. At that time I was closer to the army. I knew that there were wars and that men make them. I was with my friend Srul, and together we came to the following conclusion: Are we in the army? Does the army conduct all kinds of operations? Then we must be in the place where they conduct the operations.

[Question] Did you want a red beret, the glory of the paratroopers?

[Answer] I was jealous of their stories, the men, not of the red beret. I had still not been involved in even one action, and they had already been on a reconnaissance in the Gaza Strip and in one action or another. How do they say it: You buy a totalizer, then you are a partner. I am in the army, and I want to be a partner.

[Question] So, did you get to the paratroops?

[Answer] We did. The paratroopers who recognized us from the officers course used their influence for us. There was then a very close relationship among the men who were in the course. Mikha Kapusta, Hayim Matzliah of blessed memory, and Eitan Harari of blessed memory recommended us, and Sasson, the adjutant of the paratroop battalion, accepted us.

To Fire in All Directions

[Question] When were you afraid?

[Answer] Many times. I was the operations officer of the paratroop battalion that jumped at Mitla in the Sinai. However, then I was more worried than gripped by fear. The real fear, the fear when you feel paralyzed, occurs every time when you have to stand up and attack while there is firing all around. Every time when you have to stand up. . .

[Question] How is the fear expressed? Do you wait another second, another two seconds?

[Answer] Perhaps you run faster. To wait is sometimes not to act. If you wait, the fear is not stopped, it gets stronger. The intent is to push ahead, to run.

[Question] Do you remember a moment of fear? Of your body trembling? A moment in which you were stuck to the ground, a moment that did not end?

[Answer] We had a pursuit in the Jordan Valley in which three men were killed, Hanan Samson, Yossi Kaplan, and their radioman Moshe. We were going after the terrorists who had hidden, as it turned out, in a cave. We passed in front of the cave, and there was despair, and it seemed that this was not the place. Suddenly, there was firing and the men were killed right next to me, and I did not know at all where and at whom I should fire. That was a difficult moment for me.

[Question] Did you stand up?

[Answer] Yes. And when they fired, I hit the ground. There was confusion among the men. The terrorists did not appear because they had hidden in the cave. I heard shouts, and I saw the wounded nearby. One of the dangers in such an incident is that everyone begins to fire in all directions. I did not want to fire because I did not see where to fire, and then I was left with

the problem. I was helpless because to fire in all directions perhaps gives you a little encouragement, but sometimes you hit your own forces and in a few cases you hit the enemy. The sharp fear is when you don't have the "something" to do in order to free yourself from the helplessness.

[Question] Men are getting killed around you. What do you think about death?

[Answer] When men are getting killed, you think very little. You think about what you should do at that moment so that more men will not be killed, not you and not others. Afterwards, what do you think about death? I live with death. Sometimes I try to keep something. I remember that many years after the Sinai operation, I kept a bloodsoaked garment, the blood of Hayim Matzliah of blessed memory whom I evacuated at the Mitla.

[Question] Your garment?

[Answer] My garment with the blood of Hayim Matzliah. This was an attempt to relate to something. I can't say that one gets used to death. I can't say that there is a certain pattern when military personnel accept death as a part of the military occupation. This happens every time, and every time it is different.

[Question] Many of your friends have been killed along the way. Do you remember a case of being notified about a friend's death and your taking it harder than usual?

[Answer] A difficult case was that of Uzi Ya'iri, the colonel who was killed at the Savoy Hotel in Tel Aviv. We had kept in touch for many years, and also the circumstances of his death were very unusual. We were then in the command group at the Savoy. I prevented him from moving around, not to protect Uzi but rather that we could not always be useful during an action. Suddenly he disappeared in the few seconds before the breakthrough into the building. The moment that they told me that Uzi had been hit, I said to those around me: Why are you bothering me, he was not inside. Afterwards, after we went to Ikhilov [hospital], the arrow hit home, the arrow hit home.

[Question] Which war do you believe was the most difficult one?

[Answer] During the Yom Kippur War I was not in a location where there was fighting. I was serving as the commanding general of the Central Command, but I estimate that in terms of the difficulty, it was the most difficult one of all.

[Question] Do you believe the Arabs? What do you think of the peace agreement with Egypt?

[Answer] First of all, I believe in people. But I also believe that people are motivated by two basic matters: One -- basic interests and two -- matters of the spirit that can sometimes also go against the personal interests: matters of faith, ideals, concepts. I believe in the strength of concepts. I believe it is no less strong than interests. Therefore, I always take the

trouble to say that when one speaks about the Arabs as the enemy, I think that this is incorrect. Not that there are no Arabs who are our enemies. This is also not substantively correct, and this is also inaccurate in terms of a world outlook. The reason is that with this you sentence yourself to constant war since you have to assume that you will be here and the Arabs will be in the countries that surround us. Hostility is all right, but constant war? However, I know that we have enemies who are very motivated by their faith that is opposed to our very existence here. We must move here with caution. I am definitely not for fostering hatred but instead for taking a realistic look at who is our enemy. It is against this enemy that we must position the strength that will cause him, if not because of faith, then because of interest, not to want to attack us. At the same time, we must look for the potential of those who will reconcile themselves to our existence.

[Question] Then what do you think of the peace agreement ?

[Answer] Whoever wanted to see love and friendship in the wake of the peace agreement has ignored the matter of interests and other factors that influence us and the Egyptians. I think that the peace is a positive and vital process, and just as we must struggle in the use of force, we must also struggle in the initiation of efforts for peace in order to stabilize the existence of the state. This state must exist in this area, then my opinion of the peace is very positive.

[Question] You have visited Egypt. Is it the same Egypt that has been described to you in the intelligence reports, the reading of books, and the viewing of films?

[Answer] In many respects, yes. I did not have the stereotype of Egypt even before I visited there as a country which only has an army and in which every day they awaken and go to sleep with the question of how to attack Jews, Israelis, and the State of Israel. I was aware of the Egyptians' basic problems, the internal and the economic ones, but to see the size of the problem with your very eyes is perhaps the most impressive thing. And this must also be remembered in the context of our relations with Egypt.

They Will Not Cut Us Off

[Question] Do you think that your younger son will take part in another war?

[Answer] My young ones are twins, two boys, 8 and 1/2 years old. And I say that they will have to take part in assuring the existence of the state. As to whether the assurance of the existence will be war or readiness for war, I would not project today. We must prepare ourselves personally and nationally for the need to be ready for a struggle. In the long term, I have no doubt that our existence is secure here. We live in a country to which we have so many ties that I do not see a process that could cut us off from these ties and from the country.

[Question] Does the fact that you think that your small sons will also have to take part at some time in a war fill you with frustration and despair that the story has not ended?

[Answer] In order to maintain freedom, in order to maintain your existence, you must be prepared to pay a price for this. But I am not prepared that this people will live only by sharpening the sword. There must be many other actions that will provide the justification and the purpose for the fact that the sword will be in our hands and will be sharp and ready.

[Question] Besides the sword, do you support concessions if necessary?

[Answer] If you are talking about your wanting to live with someone, then in every life with someone there is some concession. The question is if you compromise on basic values or on something secondary. If you compromise on something secondary and leave in your hands the independent existence and the security for the defense of this existence, then I am for concessions.

[Question] Would you describe Judea and Samaria as a basic or a secondary value?

[Answer] With the composition of the forces today, the military forces and the weapons systems, it is impossible militarily to state that we would not have military control of the mountain ridge in that range of hills that is called Judea and Samaria and extends to the Jordan Valley. In pure military concepts it is vital. One can add the historical connection to this.

[Question] And truthfully, what about the "inheritance of the patriarchs?"

[Answer] Nevertheless, there is the problem of administering the people who are now living in Judea and Samaria, and from the nature of things, they don't want us to rule over them. In this area the change that must take place is a crucial one in the attitude of the actual enemies and the potential enemies toward the existence of the State of Israel. It is true that for the immediate future I don't see this change.

[Question] A final question. What do you want to be when you grow up? After your military service?

[Answer] I am already at an age when to be a grownup is no longer a challenge. I cannot say now what I want to do.

[Question] Politics?

[Answer] In terms of my aspiration, I would want to be a farmer. I tried this once. I was a farmer, and I was not sorry that I was one. I returned to military service because I was recalled. My burning ambition is really to be a farmer, one who works the land. . .

[Question] That is exactly what your predecessor said.

[Answer] Had I thought that you wouldn't make this comparison, I would have perhaps said something else.

[Question] In a kibbutz?

[Answer] If you would connect for me the kibbutz to Jerusalem, then I would manage to fulfill all my hopes. The kibbutz is not only a way of life, it is also a home.

[Question] The definition of "service" is very vague.

[Answer] If you want to ask me if I will go into politics or not and this will give you a headline as to whether I am or am not going into politics, I can't say this.

[Question] Do you intend to perform a service for the state?

[Answer] For the state, for the society, for the economy. There is a place for each one of us to cope in the various areas of the challenge for the existence of a state in which it will be good and desirable for many people to live.

5830

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#### COMPOSITION OF NEW ASSEMBLY DISCUSSED

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic Mar 85 p 9

[Text] The new Kuwait National Assembly includes 50 elected members and 15 members--that is, about one-third of the number of elected members--who were appointed by the executive authority and who represent the government point of view. Wising to achieve the desired representational balance between elected and appointed members--that is, a proportion of three to one--the government proceeded to win at least one elected member to its ranks by bestowing on him a ministerial portfolio when it composed the cabinet.

The activity of the Kuwait National Assembly was suspended between the years 1975 and 1980. One of the basic reasons announced for this suspension was the strong criticisms aimed at the government by the democratic grouping, under the leadership of Dr Ahman al-Khatib. This was considered to violate Kuwaiti national interests.

On the occasion of reopening the sessions of the national assembly in 1980, the government introduced modifications into the electoral system, by which it intended to disperse some centers of electoral power by distributing their votes in a way which would weaken the democratic grouping. Modification of the electoral system included geographical defining of the electoral districts. It also introduced larger districts, with the goal of ending control of some of the candidates over districts in which they are residents and raising the stridency of competition among them. In accord with the new geographical partitioning, each electoral district is now presented with two candidates rather than one candidate as previously.

The electoral results for 1985 reveal the following developments:

1. The voters' disappointment in the government. Of the 50 elected deputies, 31 are new.
2. The group profiting most from these elections was the democratic grouping, which gained four representatives in the National Assembly. It is expected that this grouping will lead the opposition. It clearly opposes the government. The electoral campaign of the grouping focused strongly on the government's policy toward the United States and criticized petroleum investments in America.

3. The list of the democratic grouping was victorious at the expense of the "merchants" and the religious Salafiyah groups.

4. The two chief spokesmen for the reform movement in Kuwait lost their electoral seats. They are Khalid Sultan, a leader of the Party for the Revitalization of the Islamic Heritage, and 'Isa Shahin, one of the most prominent personalities in the Salafiyah movement. This was in favor of two candidates known for their Sunni fundamentalist tendency. As for the Shi'ah fundamentalists, they replaced Shi'oh candidates with those less "partisan" and more moderate.

The new composition of the Kuwait National Assembly appears varied, broader in ideology and groupings, but without a clear victory of one side over an other. This reveals the following:

1. A likely increase in opposition fervor, especially on the part of the democratic grouping.
2. A decrease in stridency of religious extremism might reflect in turn, the social composition of the country.
3. The government enjoys a position strong enough to implement the policy it chooses. The opposition remains divided in comparison with the votes which support the government in the assembly. It is unlikely that any legislation can pass the assembly which does not receive the full support of the government deputies.

12780

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17 JUNE 1985

KUWAIT

## STEPS TO STIMULATE ECONOMY TAKEN

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic Mar 85 p 58

[Text] After lengthy expectation, the Kuwait council of ministers decided to establish one or more companies to purchase the debts of Kuwaiti establishments and companies, in an effort to stimulate the Kuwaiti economy, which is still suffering from the results of the al-Manakh market crises and from stagnation.

This company, or two companies, will be mixed, in that the government will participate by holding 15 percent of the capital, although the private sector has called on the state to increase its participation to 50 percent in order to guarantee realization of its goals and aims.

The Kuwait council of ministers made the decision in light of recommendations from the committee for economic stimulation, presented to the council of ministers. The committee, composed of senior financial and monetary officials and representatives from various sectors, was formed last year with the goal of studying appropriate means to stimulate the Kuwaiti economy. The council of ministers set this past February as the final date for completion of its task.

The recommendations include that of taking long-range steps rather than steps with immediate effect, such as pumping in government funds to raise stock and real estate prices, so as to raise the value of the financial portfolios not only of investment companies, but also of many industrial and service companies which have become involved as speculators in the stock and real estate markets. Most members of the committee do not support rapid economic stimulation, since they do not think that this corrective method will have a healthy effect in the long run. It might have negative effect, and the disappointment might lead to aggravation of the crisis of confidence in the local economy and in those responsible for its administration.

Also among the steps, in addition to establishment of this company, are:

--The rescheduling of bank debts in order to defray them over a period of years at a reduced or subsidized interest rate by an establishment designated and owned by the banks and the public sector.

--Establishment of two companies to create markets in the Kuwaiti stock market, with capitalization of 20 million dinars each, owned by Kuwaiti joint-stock companies of which the government owns a large share.

--Strict government measures which will deal with application of legal requirements concerning percentage of capital and accumulated losses. This will result in liquidation of some joint-stock and privately-held companies and many gulf companies. The committee urged merger of some investment and financial establishments and some other types of establishments in bad and hopeless financial situations.

--Distribution of amounts of accumulated acquisitions by issuance of bonds for several years, which will pump in about 800 million dinars during this period and lighten the burden on the state treasury for a short period.

Employment of effective recommendations will in the mid-term and long-run contribute to rapid economic revitalization and to a return of steady economic growth at normal levels in Kuwait. It will be the beginning of the stage following the al-Manakh market crisis. This will gradually return individual confidence and turn the economic wheel of various production sectors in Kuwait.

Employment of these long-range recommendations will depend, to a considerable degree, on the results of the National Assembly elections, which took place on 20 February 1985, and on the new government which will be formed. The next stage of recommendations of the committee on stimulation will largely depend on this new work program.

12780

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## CENTRAL BANK TIGHTENS CONTROL OVER OTHER BANKS

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic Mar 85 p 59

[Text] The Kuwait banks, whose situations are like that of many other companies and establishments, are passing through a critical and serious period, due to the economic stagnation from which the country is suffering and the after-effects of the al-Manakh market crisis. This situation drove the Central Bank to tighten control over the banks and to inspect their detailed reports. Nevertheless, most of the banks announced a dividend for 1984. Here is a report shedding light on the tightened control and on the banks' profits.

During the first of the month of February, the Commercial Bank of Kuwait announced its financial results for 1984. Thus all of the Kuwait banks have announced their results, though a month later than usual. The delay was caused by the desire of the central bank to examine the detailed reports of the final accounts of the banks to ascertain their conditions.

At the beginning of November 1984, the Central Bank asked the commercial banks to agree to list the dubious loans and facilitations in their returns. The banks complied with the request. But after a period of time, the Central Bank unexpectedly demanded that they present additional material about the details of all of the loans and facilitations, detailed reports about the collateral of their customers, and information about their designated reserves in anticipation of problems, particularly the potential of a drop in the value of their fixed assets as guaranteed in the form of stocks, real estate, etc.

On 20 January, the Central Bank finished, effectively, examination of the budgets of the commercial banks for the 1984 financial year. It permitted these banks, after lengthy negotiations and meetings with the boards of directors, to distribute dividends as set forth in the following table.

Bank	1984		1983	
	Cash %	Share Com- pensation %	Cash %	Share Com- pensation %
National Bank of Kuwait	10	5	18	20
Gulf Bank	7	5	15	20
The Commercial Bank of Kuwait	7	0	18	0
Ahali Bank	5	5	15	0
Burqan Bank	0	0	15	15
Bank of Kuwait and the Middle East	5	5	10	15
Kuwait Financing House	0	0	20	0

The numbers illustrated in the table show a decline of more than one-half in the banks' dividends, whether in distributions of cash or stock.

By 20 January 1985, only two banks had announced their profits. The Burqan Bank, of which the government owns about 70 percent, announced that it would not distribute any profits to its shareholders for the 1984 financial year, but would convert profits for the year into stockholders' rights.

The second bank, the Kuwait Finance House, which operates as an Islamic bank, and of which the government owns about 50 percent, announced the transfer of 28.5 million dinars of income to an emergency reserve account. It will not distribute any profit to its shareholders and depositors.

Among the other commercial banks, the National Bank of Kuwait announced the highest dividend percentage, a 10 percent cash distribution and a 5 percent stock distribution. The Gulf Bank followed it by announcing a 7 percent cash distribution and a 5 percent stock distribution. Al-Ahli Bank and the Bank of Kuwait and the Middle East each announced a 5 percent cash distribution and a 5 percent stock distribution. The Commercial Bank announced a 7 percent cash distribution without any stock distribution.

#### What do These Distributions Mean?

These distributions point to a number of important matters:

1. The Central Bank will increase its control over the banks' accounts and will request increased periodic reports in order to examine them, especially in light of the difficult economic circumstances through which Kuwait is currently passing.

2. The decrease in the distribution percentages for the 1984 financial year does not mean that the commercial banks are facing financial or other difficulties. On the contrary, this reflects the desire of the Central Bank to increase the proportion of reserves, so as to be proportionate with the credit facilitations and investment portfolios of these banks.
3. A cash and stock dividend distribution, even if of a percentage lower than last year's distribution to shareholders, will help most of them to improve their financial situation and to face their financial commitments, on the one hand, and to avoid a continued drop in the value of the banks' stocks in the securities market.
4. On the international level, the cash dividends distributed by most of the banks, in light of the local financial and economic conditions in Kuwait and the region, will help preserve the reputation of these banks in international markets and will demonstrate that these banks are still in good financial shape by the demonstration of dividend distribution. As for the dividends distributed in the form of stock, it is merely a transfer from an article of debts to an article of rights of the stockholders.
5. Economic and financial circles are eagerly anticipating publication of the annual reports by the banks of their results for 1984, to examine them closely to learn about the level of profits announced for this year, which are expected to be lower than the profits from the previous year.

12780

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17 JUNE 1985

YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

## FORMATION OF ISLAMIC BANKING SYSTEM URGED

Sanaa AL-IRSHAD in Arabic Mar 85 pp 16-19

[Article by Muhammad Muslih 'Abdallah al-Tahish: "Establishing Islamic Banks in the Yemen Arab Republic Is Essential; Under the National Charter Yemen's Economy Must Be Islamic"]

[Text] The Muslim people of Yemen refuse to do business with banks that practice usury.

A proverb says, "Nothing will reform this nation at this time except that which made it thrive in its earliest days."

An Islamic system complements an Islamic regime.

Third World countries, one of which is the Yemen Arab Republic, are classified as backward or developing countries, or less developed countries. The Yemen Arab Republic has been classified a less developed country as far as its economy is concerned. On that basis officials who are in charge of the country should push for progress in development so that the Yemen Arab Republic can first become a developed country and then an advanced country in all areas of the economy.

It is on that basis and in the context of studies dealing with the subject of development in Yemen that we think an Islamic economic system must be adopted. The superiority of an Islamic economic system to other economic systems has been attested to by fair-minded economists.

As a first step in this regard we think that establishing the Islamic Bank of Yemen for Financing and Investment should be expedited. We think that an Islamic banking system should be adopted and an effort made to change present Yemeni banks and bring them gradually closer to an Islamic banking system. We think that for the following reasons:

1. To deal with what was mentioned in the National Charter in this regard.
2. To deal with the second 5-Year Plan's handling of the question of savings in the country.
3. To get rid of the vestiges of existing economic systems, which are based on usury, by considering Yemen an Islamic country.

4. To push for progress in developing the the Yemen Arab Republic's economy.
5. To bring about economic justice, which can be achieved through the application of an Islamic economy that is based on actual life in Yemen.
6. The last reason in this regard is that of making an effort to make the system of the Yemeni Bank for Financing and Investment known. Establishment of this bank in the Yemen Arab Republic has recently been contemplated.

#### The First Reason

The National Charter is considered the most important and the first political document produced by our Yemeni people since the outbreak of the Revolution. Its final version was the product of in-depth studies and exhaustive dialogue among the sectors of the Yemeni people. The current version was approved as a document that could serve as a theoretical and practical guide for the lives of the Yemeni people.

The National Charter dealt with several political, social and economic issues which must be followed by Yemeni society. The principles and details of the charter were derived from the honorable canonical laws of Islam.

Yemen's economy, which is one of the subjects dealt with in the National Charter. that the people of Yemen accepted and approved as their own, was perceived to be Islamic in the sense that Yemen's economy was to be handled in an Islamic manner.

Because what is of interest to us in this inquiry are those Islamic banks that employ usury when they do business--and our interest is based on the prohibition against usury in Islamic economics--[let us state that] the charter prohibited the acquisition of wealth by means of usury. Naturally, one cannot do without some of the services of existing banks, services which do not include usury. But if we were to consider abolishing these banks because they employ usury in their business transactions, we would find that to be almost impossible in a modern, advanced state. However, the emergence of Islamic banks, as we stated earlier, would constitute an ideal solution to the process of economic development. Social services could be offered by means of doing business without employing usury.

Among the provisions of the charter are those that suggest in particular that usury be prohibited or that economic systems which are based on principles that are inconsistent with Islam in general, such as the following, be rejected:

1. On page 17, under "The Second Fact" in the preface to the National Charter, it is affirmed that the people of Yemen can make progress only by adhering to Islam. This means that the people of Yemen must adopt all the economic, social, political and other components of the canonical law of Islam. The charter states:

"All incidents involving bloodshed that occurred throughout Yemen's lengthy history undermined everything in the lives of the Yemeni people except their faith in God and their adherence to Islam. This fact affirms that Islam is the conscience of our people without which they cannot move forward. It affirms that under the sovereignty of the true canonical law of Islam our Yemeni society can

understand its world and can formulate a sound, realistic outlook on its present and its future; it can guarantee unity, democracy, and social justice."

2. On page 18, in the same preface under "The Fifth Fact," it is stated that, "Our Yemeni society has been and still is affirming its rejection of all forms of exploitation and injustice regardless of their origins and sources. At the same time the people of Yemen affirm their concern for stability, security and faith."

This means that the injustice, greed and monopoly which come into the picture when usury is employed in business transactions are rejected because they are incompatible with social justice in the area of the economy.

3. On page 24, Chapter One of the National Charter, "Islam, the Creed and the Law," the National Charter affirms that the people of Yemen reject theories that are incompatible with Islam and Islamic law, whether these theories are political, economic, social or other. The charter states, "We reject any theory of government, economics, politics or sociology that is incompatible with our Islamic faith and law...." And so on.

Naturally, transactions involving usury, which are part of contemporary theories of economics, are absolutely rejected because they too are incompatible with the principles of Islamic law.

4. The National Charter often emphasizes equality and social justice, and it rejects non-Islamic ways of doing business. On page 53 under the heading, "Social Justice and Economic Development" the charter states, "Our understanding of removing the differences between the classes is based on our faith in the principle of absolute equality among all individuals in our society with regard to social worth and human dignity as well as rights and duties. This, of course, does not mean absolute equality of incomes and wages. Citizens' incomes and wages will have to vary according to each one's efforts and the kind and amount of work that is performed. However, no person may acquire wealth by illegitimate or unfair means. Nor may any person acquire wealth by engaging in any kind of injustice, exploitation, monopoly, greed, embezzlement, bribery, usury, extortion, theft or any other illegitimate means as defined and prohibited by Islam."

5. Actually, the fact that the principles of the National Charter are based on the canonical laws of Islam is considered clear evidence that the people of Yemen reject all forms of exploitation and injustice and believe that Islam provides salvation from all kinds of random actions, backwardness, injustice and exploitation. To apply the National Charter with regard to the economy, we think, as we affirmed more than once in this inquiry, that the first step is to work for the success of the Yemeni Islamic Bank for Development whose establishment has recently been contemplated.

#### The Second Reason

The second 5-Year Plan, which is considered the comprehensive plan for the Yemen Arab Republic from 1982 to 1986, recommended in more than one instance that increasing and encouraging savings in the Yemen Arab Republic were important and essential to bring about progress in Yemen's economic development. The plan dealt



with the problem of savings in the Yemen Arab Republic, and it referred to the fact that savings were negative in the period before and during preparations for the second plan. Therefore, savings must be increased to a minimum of at least zero because that would bring about progress in development. In dealing with objectives and strategies for the financial sector, the plan referred on page 61 to the importance of encouraging and establishing new firms for saving money and others for channeling those savings into investments, including the Islamic Bank.

Under Strategy Number 3, the plan states, "To expand and develop the services of the banking sector; to encourage the opening of new branches for commercial and specialized banks in the various areas of the country; to promote an awareness of banking; to create incentives for saving with banks and insurance companies; and to create other agencies for collecting savings and channeling them into productive investments, [such as] savings banks, Islamic banks and other banks."

The second 5-Year Plan may have recognized the importance of establishing an Islamic Bank due to the effective role such a bank would play in attracting savings and channeling them into investments that are compatible with the Muslim nature of the people of Yemen who would not deposit their savings in banks that employ usury. The people of Yemen will turn out in large numbers to deposit their savings in Islamic banks since an Islamic bank would play a memorable role in the process of development, and its success is to be regarded in that regard.

It is worth noting that studies which dealt with savings in the Yemen Arab Republic suggest that establishing an Islamic bank is important because the people of Yemen, due to their Islamic nature, avoid saving and borrowing from banks that employ usury because usury is prohibited in the canonical law of Islam. For example, a study of cooperative societies done by Engineer 'Abdallah Qasim al-Unsi indicates that many cooperative societies would like to deal with the Cooperative Agricultural Credit Bank, but they say that citizens do not wish to pay interest on money they borrow because they believe this conflicts with the principles of Islamic law.

### The Third Reason

Regarding this reason it is obvious that the government and people of the Yemen Arab Republic are the most devout among other Islamic governments and peoples. Their adherence to Islam is the strongest, and they are influenced by it and by its valuable precepts. Therefore, the likelihood that an Islamic bank in the country will succeed is very high. Besides, it is essential that we get rid of the vestiges of existing economic systems that are based on usury because they failed to establish justice among individuals. Also, following positive economic laws entails the country's economic subordination to western or eastern countries, and that has an effect on the state's political regime and the possibility that it too will be subordinate. It is well-known that the evils of economic subordination are numerous, including the fact that in times of economic crises in general the subordinate countries of the world are influenced by the countries to which they are subordinate to. And the evils of political subordination are not unknown to any reasonable person.

#### The Fourth Reason

This reason, which is considered to be specially important, receives special and considerable attention from all the countries of the world--backward as well as advanced countries--even though development seems to be more important to backward countries. In fact, all of a country's resources are employed in the advancement of development because it is the basis for a country's economy. The civilization of nations and their prosperity are measured by their development and the progress they have achieved in economic development. Furthermore, developed countries gain political importance and exercise political influence. Besides, progress in development has an effect on the employment of a large sector of the labor force. It also influences the establishment of projects that are economically significant. It is certain that an Islamic banking system is superior to any other banking system, as we've already argued, because an Islamic banking system makes an effective contribution to the establishment of economic projects: agricultural, commercial, industrial or extractive. Islamic banks offer economic expertise to these projects for the purpose of developing them and helping them achieve progress. Besides, they help provide employment for the labor force, and they curb unemployment when personnel are hired by the bank or by the bank's projects. As we mentioned earlier, this promotes the growth of savings that are invested by an Islamic bank. Therefore, the establishment of Islamic banks in this country was essential for that reason.

#### The Fifth Reason

Regarding this reason, that of economic justice, we think that it can only come about through an Islamic economy. The first step toward that end would be to expedite the establishment of the Yemeni Islamic Bank for Investment and Financing. This opinion on our part does not constitute bias or prejudice; it is the truth. In general, if Islam were properly applied in life, we would have perfect justice. Economic justice is only part of total Islamic justice which encompasses all the affairs of life. But at a time when we can see the contemporary countries striving to achieve justice, we find that no two countries in the world disagree about the importance of economic justice. Each country claims to be striving to achieve justice in its own way and with its own regime. It has become known that social justice does not only mean justice in the economy, but it also means justice in the standard of living. In fact, we as well as fair-minded people, think that the only solution for establishing justice in all areas, including economic justice and economic and social prosperity, lies in the application of Islam, which includes having an Islamic economy. The first step in that regard is to establish Islamic banks, and an effort is to be made to apply the law of alms in the manner that Islam wished it to be applied. This, as we said, is neither a frivolous nor a biased claim; practical experience has proven that to be true.

In the past Islam was correctly and splendidly applied during different periods. Splendid examples of justice that seemed to be unattainable were evident during those periods. An ideal life was achieved, and it was considered to be almost trouble free, particularly with regard to having enough for a living. There is a proverb which states that "Nothing will reform this nation at this time except that which made it thrive in its earliest days."

For example, there was a period of time in Yemen during the life of the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation, when the Prophet, my God bless him and grant him salvation, put Ma'dh ibn Jabal in charge in Yemen. At that time Ma'dh, may God be pleased with him, found no one who deserved to receive alms, not to mention justice in other matters of that regime. During the term of 'Umar ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, may God be pleased with him, the Islamic state reached the height of its economic power. It was also a unified unit ruled by one caliph, obeying one prince who was unswerving in his pursuit of truth. As an example of how great its economic strength was at that time, funds were piled up in the treasury because there were no needy people who deserved to receive money from the treasury. That induced the caliph, may God be pleased with him, to order that slaves be emancipated and that bachelors be granted from treasury funds the dowries they had to pay so they could marry. Treasury funds were also spent on other matters that are not included under those items identified as appropriate for treasury expenditures. The caliph even ordered one of his employees to roam in the markets to tell young people, "We will help any one of you who wants to get married, and we will find housing for any one of you who wants to have a house."

Therefore, as we've affirmed more than once and are still affirming, any step taken in that regard will be a step taken in the right direction to achieve justice. It is said that the journey of a thousand miles begins with one step.

What was mentioned in this research article under the chapter, "Islamic Banks," affirms our view that establishing Islamic banks would achieve economic justice.

To provide further but brief clarification on how economic justice will be achieved if Yemen were to adopt an Islamic banking system and begin the process of converting current banks to Islamic banks, we'll cite a few examples.

If the Yemeni Islamic Bank for Financing and Investment were to start out with 200 million riyals in capital in its first year, then at the end of the first year and the beginning of the second the outcome of the projects that were undertaken would show profits and losses. Alms tax would be collected on capital and its profits before dividends were distributed to shareholders. An alms tax is not to be levied on fixed assets, as is the case now in Islamic banks. That system is the result of a formal legal opinion issued by the Supreme Authority for Islamic Banks. In this example, the alms tax would amount to no less than 5 million riyals; that is a 2.5 percent rate. As we've indicated previously, the alms tax that would be kept by the bank in accordance with the system that is now in effect would be earmarked for interest free consumer loans and assistance to those who, according to the bank, need it. An arithmetical computation would show that the aforementioned figure would suffice to relieve the financial difficulties of 50 homes, poor persons or persons who, according to the bank, have suffered a real and an unexpected loss. That would be the figure for 1 year, assuming that the amount of a loan or assistance granted would be 100,000 riyals. And that is above and beyond the alms tax that would be computed every year and for several years on the basis of profits and capital. If we were to take the Yemeni Bank for Construction and Development and attempt to change it and make it become an Islamic bank, a mathematical operation to compute the amount of the alms tax that would be levied on the bank would show the following:

In 1982, for example, capital for the Yemeni Bank for Construction and Development amounted to 3,494,162,053 Yemeni riyals. If we were to deduct from that amount the value of the fixed assets after depreciation, which would amount to 45,846,313 Yemeni riyals, according to the system that is followed in Islamic banks when an alms tax is levied on a bank's property, we would find that the amount of the alms tax that will be earmarked for charity, including loans and assistance, will be based on the balance after the amount for fixed assets is deducted. That sum would be 3,448,315,470 Yemeni riyals. The alms tax will be at the known rate of 2.5 percent, which is 86,207,893 riyals. That sum would be enough to provide loans and assistance to almost one fourth of the state employees in the Yemen Arab Republic who are deemed by the bank to deserve such loans or assistance. Isn't this just? It is indeed quite just, and all that would be accomplished in 1 year!

This clarification that we mentioned applies to consumer loans and charitable contributions that are made by the bank in the context of economic development efforts that are made to raise the needy's standard of living and relieve their financial difficulties.

As far as loans for production are concerned, as we've indicated previously, the Islamic banking system is based on partnership. No two people would disagree about the justice of this system. One should bear in mind that this system is not as imaginary, idealistic or impractical as it might appear to be. Islamic banks are widespread in many countries of the world, and their unique system does exist and is achieving unprecedented success from one year to the next. All those who have an interest in this matter realize that. It is, however, right to say that Islam cannot be adopted piecemeal, but that it should rather be adopted in a comprehensive, integrated manner. For example, one cannot establish an Islamic economic system in any form. With regard to banks, for example, the alms tax has to be levied whether alms tax revenues are delivered to the treasury, if there is one, or are deducted by an Islamic bank itself, as is the case now in these Islamic banks. This step that is being taken by the Islamic Bank is considered unique and distinguished at a time when an independent treasury, as envisioned by Islam, is missing. Unless the bank takes that step of deducting the alms tax on its deposits and shares, for example, its operating system will appear to be nothing more than that of an investment company offering no more than a few ordinary services.

We also wish to say that an Islamic economy cannot be established with some precision unless Islam is adopted in other areas like politics and government. It is known that matters of business and worship are not separate in Islam. Muslims must seek the judgments of God, His messenger, the Koran and the Tradition of His prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation, in all their affairs and in their lives. We must do that if we want true happiness in this life and in the hereafter. We must do that if we want to make decisions independently from the East or West and independently from this person or the other. Otherwise, we will have to endure the humiliation, the loss and the disappointments that we have now.

God will guide us to the right path.

## ASPECTS OF, DEVELOPMENTS IN INDO-U.S. RELATIONS

### Fears Over Aid Doctrine

Madras THE HINDU in English 2 May 85 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 1.

The current U.S. efforts to establish a defence cooperation relationship with India have been soured to some extent by the new American doctrine of "strategic aid" to countries like Pakistan and the Philippines in addition to the economic assistance received by them.

The U.S. Under Secretary of State, Mr. Michael Armacost, who visited India, Pakistan, China, South Korea and Japan recently, is reported to have propounded this new doctrine in the course of his talks with leaders of some of these countries, notably Japan.

The Indian apprehensions about the wider implications of this move were indirectly reflected when the visiting U.S. Under Secretary for Defence, Mr. Fred Ikle, called on the chairman of the Policy Planning Committee, Mr. G. Parthasarathi, and the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Romesh Bhandari, at the External Affairs Ministry today for a general exchange of views on Indo-American relations.

His main talks on defence cooperation were conducted at the Defence Ministry, when he met the Defence Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, and the Defence Secretary, Mr. S. K. Bhadrnagar, who are handling these discussions in close consultation with the Service Chiefs, the Scientific Adviser and officials in charge of Defence Production.

The two sides did not get down to a discussion of specific projects as such in the course of today's talks, but they will deal with these issues during the next two days of Mr. Ikle's stay in Delhi.

## Visit of Ikle Delegation

Madras THE HINDU in English 4 May 85 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 3.

The U.S. Under Secretary of State for Defence Policy, Mr. Fred Ikle and senior Pentagon experts accompanying him, gave a detailed exposition of the American perception of the security situation in South Asia at a closed door meeting yesterday with top civil servants, service officers and intelligence chiefs dealing with India's defence problems.

The American team briefed the Indian officials, who included the three Secretaries in the Ministry of Defence, the Vice-Chiefs of the Army, Navy and Air Force, and heads of intelligence services, on the Soviet capabilities in South Asia and the peripheral region and the U.S. capacity to thwart any aggressive moves by Moscow under the prevailing geo-strategic conditions.

**U.S. presence:** The U.S. experts came with maps and charts to indicate the nature and extent of Soviet activity and the threats it could pose to the area in the event of a crisis or confrontation in the region. But in attempting to focus the main attention on the increasing Soviet build-up, the American team tried to play down the growing U.S. military presence in and around the Indian Ocean.

The exercise was also intended to allay India's fears of a renewed threat from Pakistan in the context of the much bigger danger to the whole sub-continent posed by the growing Soviet presence in Afghanistan and the intensification of its activity in and around the Indian Ocean. The U.S. team gave no convincing replies to some of the searching questions put by Indian officials about the American role in the region which was also contributing to increased tensions.

The main discussions between Mr. Ikle's team and the Indian Defence officials took place at a series of formal and informal meetings during which several questions were posed by both sides to probe each other's intentions and assess how far they would be prepared to go to establish a military supply relationship, without prejudice to the ongoing U.S. commitments to Pakistan.

**Washington's offer:** The Defence Ministry was sounded on the eve of Mr. Ikle's arrival whether India was still interested in the 155 mm. howitzers which it wanted to buy from the U.S. in 1980. Mr. Ikle himself asked if India would like to buy some F-16s in case the U.S. was prepared to sell them. The Indian answer to both these queries was in the negative and the U.S. team was told quite clearly that India had either already made or was in the process

of making, alternative arrangements.

The U.S. officials were also surprised when India did not ask for any airborne early warning or electronic counter-measure systems, other than some components for its air defence network of radar stations and other installations. The Ikle team got the message that India did not want to acquire entire American-built systems whose operational frequencies could be intercepted by Pakistan using the same equipment.

But India pressed hard for the sale of infra-red night vision equipment which has been given to Pakistan but denied to it. The lifting of this embargo has become a sort of a test case because India is interested in buying the latest TOW missiles which are operated with this device in anti-tank warfare.

The U.S. defence team came primarily to assess the mood of the new Indian Government and get an idea of its possible responses to specific offers of arms sales. It did not come to negotiate specific deals or even evolve a mutually agreeable political framework for defence cooperation.

The talks were, therefore, of an exploratory nature and intended to be an important step in an improving relationship that could lead to an arms deal in addition to increased U.S. participation in India's economic development. The two sides talked of various possibilities extending from sale of transport planes, offer of technological collaboration in developing a defence-oriented electronics industry and other forms of help in enabling India to acquire a greater degree of self-reliance.

**Impressive performance:** The U.S. Under Secretary and his colleagues are going back fairly satisfied with the outcome of their talks in Delhi. They were quite impressed by the professional competence and technological grasp of the Indian officials who took part in these discussions.

The U.S. Secretary of the Air Force arrives next week for more detailed talks on IAF's requirements. Apart from transport planes, India would be interested in acquiring other categories of American equipment including possibly an aero engine for its light combat aircraft.

There were some hints, in the course of these talks, that the U.S. would not be averse to the idea of a memorandum of understanding on defence cooperation with mutually acceptable safeguards to pave the way for increased assistance if the two countries could agree at the political level on such cooperation.

## Superpower Rivalry Noted

Madras THE HINDU in English 4 May 85 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 30.

The two super powers are, from all accounts, vying with each other in wooing the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, by making a deeper impression on him during his forthcoming visits to Moscow and Washington.

The Soviet Union, which is apparently perturbed by the latest American efforts to placate him with offers of high technology transfer and sale of sophisticated arms, is going all out to make his Moscow visit an important landmark in the development of Indo-Soviet relations.

As a sort of curtain-raiser to this visit, the Soviet Union today announced the award posthumously of Lenin Peace prize for Indira Gandhi, who will be honoured further with the dedication of a sports stadium in Moscow in her name. The Soviet hosts are drawing up the programme of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's trip in such a manner that the basic theme of continuity is highlighted at every stage to focus attention on the fact that the son is no less devoted than his late mother to the consolidation of Indo-Soviet relations.

The new Soviet leadership headed by Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev is reported to be very keen on making a series of announcements during Mr. Gandhi's visit on increased Soviet assistance for India's development. It is also expected to assure him of the Soviet readiness to make available all the highly sophisticated weaponry that India wants for its defence on highly competitive terms.

**U.S. efforts:** The Reagan Administration is making a parallel bid to establish a closer relationship with India without prejudice to its on-going military assistance to Pakistan. The U.S. Under-Secretary of Defence, Mr. Fred Charles Ikle, who is arriving tomorrow on a four-day visit, will be meeting the Defence Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, the Defence Secretary, Mr. S. K. Bhatnagar, and other senior officials of the Defence Ministry to discuss the possibilities of establishing an arms supply relationship with India through transfer of high technology and also sale of certain types of aircraft and even weapons on mutually acceptable terms.

After concluding his talks in Delhi, Mr. Ikle will be going to Bangalore to get an idea of the capabilities of HAL for assembly or licensed production of different categories of transport and combat aircraft. He will also visit Bharat Electronics Limited (BEL) to assess its capacity for absorption of high American technology in this field for both civil and milit-

ary uses.

The Secretary of the U.S. Air Force, Mr. Verne Orr, who arrives next week, will probably have more detailed discussions on the requirements of Indian Air Force, while the Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Malcolm Baldrige, who follows later, will review the prospects for increased Indo-U.S. trade and American investments in India in some specified spheres.

The intention is to get all this data ready for some major offers of increased American collaboration during Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Washington. The U.S. Government is also planning to show him the Johnson Space Centre in Houston when he flies to Texas with the Vice-President, Mr. George Bush, to spend a day at his home.

A lot of preparatory work is being done simultaneously by the Ministries concerned in Delhi to enable Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to respond to the Soviet and U.S. offers of increased cooperation to the desired extent for securing the necessary assistance from the two super powers without in any way altering the delicate balance in India's relationship with them. All possible care is being taken to avoid the impression of any new tilt towards the U.S. to the detriment of its establishee relationship with the Soviet Union.

**Flexibility needed:** But as a product of a different generation with a new technological vision, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has to display greater flexibility in his dealings with the two super powers to ensure that India has equal access to their industrial and scientific developments. The basic intention is to obtain access to all available assistance from both of them for increasing India's self-reliance and progressively reducing the country's dependence on foreign collaboration.

The young Prime Minister with his modern bent of mind is not, therefore, suspecting any sinister motives behind the latest American moves to cultivate him. He feels that it is for India to decide to what extent it should avail itself of the offers of assistance consistent with the policies of his Government. It does not mean that he is going to stop protesting against increasing American military aid to Pakistan by agreeing to establish a limited arms purchase relationship with the U.S. in India's own interest.

The forthcoming visits to Moscow and Washington are going to be his first major test in international diplomacy in dealing with the two super powers

## U.S. for Closer Ties

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 1 May 85 p 16

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 30.—The U.S. Government seems to be bending over backwards to persuade India to come closer to it, despite the irritants caused by the supply of sophisticated weapons to Pakistan.

A series of visits by U.S. Senators, Congressmen and officials since the installation of the new Government at the Centre are indications of the American's desire to break new ground in the relations between the two countries.

The U.S. Government observers here feel is keen to convince India that though perceptions between the two countries on certain important world issues might differ, it is still possible for the world's two big democracies to join hands.

As one source put it: "The visits of the U.S. legislators and officials of or that of Dr Henry Kissinger were not just courtesy calls. There seems to be a genuine desire to get closer to us".

Besides repeatedly stressing that the supply of U.S. arms to Pakistan was not intended to put Pakistan one-up over India, U.S. officials, it is understood, have also been trying to assure India that the Reagan Administration has no intention of fishing in the troubled waters of Sri Lanka. More particularly, the U.S. Government has made it clear that it did not

propose to establish a naval base in Sri Lanka and that it would go along with India in hoping for a political rather than military solution to the ethnic question in Sri Lanka.

In this backward, a certain degree of expectation has been aroused over the scheduled visit to Washington in June by Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

The Reagan Administration's anxiety to ensure that Mr Gandhi's trip turns out to be a reasonable success is obviously the reason for the proposed visits by at least three U.S. officials next month.

Dr Fred Ikle, the Under-Secretary of Defence Policy, is expected here on May 1. During his four-day visit, he would call on the chairman of the Policy Planning Committee, Mr G. Parthasarathy and the Foreign Secretary, Mr Romesh Bhandari, among others.

Another defence official, Mr Verne Orre, Secretary for the Air Force, would be here from May 6 to 8. The U.S. Commerce Secretary, Mr Malcolm Baldrige, is expected here eight days later.

While these visits would certainly help prepare the spadework for making Mr Gandhi's U.S. visit somewhat productive, it would need a lot of more doing for the U.S. Government to convince India about its intentions towards Pakistan, especially on the issue of supply of arms.

CSO: 4600/1590



## SOVIET REASSURE INDIA ON TOURISTS' VISITS

Madras THE HINDU in English 2 May 85 p 5

[Text]

MOSCOW, May 1.

The Soviets have assured Indian tourism officials that Soviet package tours of India have only been suspended for the present and that the 'normal' number of batches will be sent this year to India.

The March and April bookings for Soviet tourist groups to India were cancelled by the Soviets following the recent assassination of a member of the Soviet Embassy staff in Delhi.

The matter was discussed by an Indian delegation headed by Dr. N. K. Sengupta, Director General of Tourism, with officials of the 'Intourist' which organises the tours.

Some 10,000 Soviet tourists visit India every year on 'Intourist' package tours arranged in cooperation with Soviet trade unions whose members generally prefer India as their travel destination. Besides meeting their hotel and travel charges, they each bring Rs. 500 to Rs. 800 for shopping.

The Soviets are anxious to see that the tourism traffic in the other direction also picks up, and have suggested that the 'Neighbouring Country Travel Scheme' (NCTS) be extended to the Soviet Union as well. Under this scheme, Indian tourists can secure \$250 (Rs. 3,125) in foreign exchange for trips other than those availed of under the FTS (foreign travel scheme).

Dr. Sen Gupta said the Soviet proposal would be put up before appropriate Indian authorities. The Indian delegation suggested that Indian rupee travel cheques carried by tourists be made tenable in Soviet hard currency shops called 'Beriozkas'. The suggestion will be considered by the Soviet banking authorities.

CSO: 4600/1590

## GANDHI ON RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN, OTHER MATTERS

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 4 May 85 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 3.—Mr Rajiv Gandhi told the Rajya Sabha today that India would not allow its security or integrity to be compromised, notwithstanding the feverish arms build-up by Pakistan and its nuclear weapons programme, reports UNI. Replying to a two-day discussion on the working of the External Affairs Ministry, Mr Gandhi said India was taking fresh initiatives to improve relations with its neighbours but "Pakistan is still a problem".

The Prime Minister said the major powers had delinked their economic and military aid to Pakistan from its nuclear programme, the concession which they had denied to other countries. "We take it as their direct help to Pakistan's nuclear programme".

Mr Gandhi, however, said India had no indication about the progress of Pakistan's nuclear programme nor any information that it was not making a bomb.

Dealing extensively on Indo-Pak relations, he said he had had very constructive talks with President Zia-ul-Haq in Moscow recently but regretted that in an interview later to a Canadian newspaper the General said "what was contrary to what he told me".

Our Special Representative adds: Mr Gandhi said Pakistan had failed to reciprocate the unilateral measures taken by India to improve bilateral ties.

India, he said, had matched the acquisition of sophisticated weapons by Pakistan to defend its borders.

The Prime Minister rejected a member's view that India had whipped up a hysteria over the acquisition of sophisticated weapons by Pakistan when it was at least three times stronger than the latter on all fronts. He pointed out that India had three times longer a border and had to fulfil its commitments on all sections of its borders. He regretted that India wanted to expand its resources for the uplift of its poor masses but had to divert them for its security.

### GULF WAR

He expressed concern over the escalation of the Iran-Iraq war and the reported use of non-conventional weapons in the prolonged conflict. India would continue its efforts to end the war.

On Namibia, he said that what was happening in South Africa was much worse than anywhere in the globe. Referring to the support given by some Western countries to the Pretoria regimes, he mentioned the "U.S. trade embargo on Nicaragua in the name of humanity". If that was the intention of Washington, it should have put an embargo on South Africa.

Mr Gandhi welcomed the Geneva talks between Washington and Moscow on disarmament and hoped that they would be fruitful. He also expressed the hope that there would be a meeting between the Soviet leader Mr Gorbachov, and President Reagan.

The Prime Minister said that India's foreign policy had not only been tested time and again over the past 37 years but also had proved its validity across the world. "It has raised India in the eyes of the world. Today we are proud to be Indians", he declared.

One corner stone of India's foreign policy, he said, was peace and referred to the six-nation summit of heads of State held here and the adoption of the Delhi declaration calling for total nuclear disarmament. The declaration had

been welcomed by most of the countries, including some nuclear weapon nations, he added.

The Prime Minister said that he proposed to talk about disarmament and the decisions of the six-nation summit during his coming visit to the USSR, Egypt, France and the USA.

According to UNI, the Prime Minister hoped that the trial of Indian hijackers in Pakistan would be "just and the guilty will get correct punishment".

The Prime Minister observed that Pakistan had already tried hijackers of a Pakistani aircraft and felt that the rules would not be changed for the current trial because the hijackers belonged to another country.

On the "tremendous" internal ethnic problem in Sri Lanka, Mr Gandhi said India's contacts with the Government in Colombo at various levels had helped to make some progress to resolve it. He said one million refugees had crossed over to India and they must go back home safely for which conditions had to be created there.

On China, he said: "We want to improve our relations to earlier levels. But the resolution of the boundary question was central to India's relations with China and this problem cannot be forgotten".

CSO: 4600/1592

# PAPER COMMENTS ON, PUBLISHES TEXT OF GANDHI WILL

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 3 May 85 pp 1, 9

## [Excerpts]

WHEN Mrs Gandhi died, she left behind an estate worth Rs 21,68,297. This is revealed in her will, which she wrote on May 4, 1981—about 11 months after her younger son, Sanjay's death. This was the only will she ever wrote.

It shows that she owned immovable property—agricultural land and a farm house—worth Rs 12,25,595 and movable property worth Rs 9,42,702. The movable property includes stocks and shares in private limited companies and units, valued at Rs 1,76,701; bank balances totalling Rs 3,47,411; debts owed to her totalling Rs 1,171; copyright capital value Rs 2,20,969; antiquities, personal/household effects and a car worth Rs 1,52,300; and jewellery, watches and trinkets worth Rs 32,150.

Mrs Gandhi wrote the will at her official residence, 1, Sardar Jang Road, in New Delhi, in the presence of two witnesses: Mr. Mahanlal Fotedar, then her political secretary, and Mr M. V. Rajan, Director of the Jawahar Lal Nehru Memorial Fund.

Her entire estate has been willed away to her three grandchildren—Priyanka and Rahul, the children of Mr Rajiv Gandhi; and Feroze Varun Gandhi, the son of Sanjay Gandhi.

No part of the estate has gone to Mr Rajiv Gandhi and his wife, Sonia. Also, Mrs Gandhi did not leave anything for her second daughter-in-law, Menaka.

Interestingly, Mrs Gandhi did not change the will even after litigation with Mrs Menaka Gandhi, who had left her mother-in-law's house with her son, Varun, after Sanjay Gandhi's death.

Mrs Menaka Gandhi had gone to court in February 1982 for the probate of her husband's entire estate on the plea that she and her son were the only legal heirs of Sanjay Gandhi.

The former Prime Minister, following a court notice, had filed a reply in October 1983 contending that she was also one of the legal

heirs to the estate of Sanjay Gandhi, but she would not be interested in claiming her share for herself and would rather have her share and interest in the properties to be treated as properties accruing to Varun for his benefit. She had desired then that properties to the extent of her share and that of Varun remain intact until he was old enough to manage these himself.

She had no objection, Mrs Gandhi's reply in the court had stated, to grant of letters of administration in favour of Mrs Menaka Gandhi to the extent of her share only but in respect of the shares of Varun and that of hers provided in his favour. She had asked for suitable arrangements to be made to avoid misuse by anyone and to have strict vigilance over the management of shares accruing to Varun.

## STATEMENT OF DEBT

Then there is a statement of debts due and owed on October 31, 1984: Sanjay Gandhi's estate—loan taken from Sanjay Gandhi in September 1977 (Rs 20,000) and another loan in March 1978 (Rs 40,000); Mrs Sonia Gandhi—loan opening balance as on April 1, 1984 (Rs 70,100) plus interest on April to October, 1984 (Rs 6,134); Ministry of External Affairs—for carpets purchased by her (Rs 39,750); AIOC office (Rs 8,085).

There are bills relating to the farm house in Sultanpur village: (a) John V. Pacheco, Kashmir Gate—for electrical works (Rs 74,265); Experto Engineers Pvt Ltd, Anand Parbat—for air-conditioning work (Rs 72,000); D. D. Pradhan, Green Park—plumbing work (Rs 11,500); Jain Marbles, Green Park—for marble supplied (Rs 1,52,563.45) and for marble work executed (Rs 51,516)—total Rs 2,09,079.45; A. K. Engineers and Builders, Janakpuri—for

civil work (Rs 41,000); Sitapur Plywood Manufacturers—for material supplied (Rs 19,060.99); gift tax payable for 1985-86 (Rs 29,628); income payable for 1985-86 (Rs 21,050); and wealth tax payable for 1981-82 (Rs 259) and for 1985-86 (Rs 6,944).

Mrs Gandhi's debts as on October 31, 1984, were valued at Rs 6,68,855.44.

#### TEXT

The following is the text of the will (excluding annexures):

Prime Minister's House  
1, Safdarjung Road,  
New Delhi  
4th May, 1981.

For want of time, it has not been possible for me to draw up a proper will, but I am hastily writing these lines to express quite clearly my wishes in this regard. And I hope that this will be considered a valid document, my will and testament, and honoured as such.

2. Considering that so far as immovable or movable properties are concerned, my family and I were well off at the time of Independence, it is a commentary on our family's public life that after 30-odd years of proximity to or actually in Government, our assets, far from increasing, have depleted. Partly, this is due to my donating Anand Bhavan and its large compound and other buildings, along with its valuable furniture, library and other appurtenances to the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. I have also handed over the massive collection of private papers of my father to the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.

3. Apart from Anand Bhavan, my major asset was my inherited jewellery, with a few small pieces added over the years. For some years now, I have given to my sons, daughter-in-law and grandchildren almost the whole of it. I had also divided between my sons Rajiv and Sanjay and handed over to them before my father's death in 1964, as well as subsequently, most of my other movable properties, which I had inherited or acquired.

4. I have now a small farm with an incomplete farm house near Mehrauli. Even since his return from England, my son Rajiv has been looking after it, spending money as well as time and labour. Therefore, I should like this entire property to go to the children of Rajiv and Sonia, that is, my grandchildren Rahul and Priyanka. It should be equally divided, which I can trust their parents to do in the best possible manner.

5. I devise and bequeath my other properties in the manner indicated below.

5. (1) The copyright held by me—

(a) on selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru (a project of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund) to Feroze Varun Gandhi;

(b) On all other works of Jawaharlal Nehru to Priyanka Gandhi;

(c) On my own works to Rahul Gandhi.

5. (2) I have some shares, securities and units. They shall be divided equally among my three grandchildren, namely, Rajiv's two children, Rahul and Priyanka, and Sanjay's son, Feroze Varun.

5. (3) What little jewellery remains with me shall belong to Priyanka Gandhi.

5. (4) The antique articles which have been registered with the Department of Archaeology shall belong to Rajiv's daughter, Priyanka.

5. (5) All my private papers shall belong to Rajiv's son, Rahul.

5. (6) Books on art, mountains and original and rare editions of books which are of archival value shall belong to Rajiv's children, Rahul and Priyanka.

5. (7) All other personal belongings shall belong to Rajiv's children, Rahul and Priyanka, provided that they should be available for the use of their parents, Rajiv and Sonia, for their lifetime.

5. (8) Payment of taxes, duties, loans and bills remaining unpaid and all other dues shall be paid out of the balances standing to my credit in my banking accounts and all monies due and payable to me shall be credited thereto. Thereafter, any balances remaining in these accounts shall belong to Feroze Varun. However, if liabilities exceed the cash available in the banking accounts, the excess of such liabilities shall be made by the beneficiaries in proportion to the value of their beneficial interests.

5. (9) My three grandchildren—Rahul, Priyanka and Feroze Varun—are minors and the properties which I have devised to them herein shall be held in trust by my son, Rajiv, and his wife, Sonia, till my three grandchildren attain majority and the trustees, Rajiv and Sonia, shall hand over to each one of them as and when he/she attains majority the properties belonging to him/her under this will.

5. (10) I am told that I am entitled to a share in my son Sanjay's estate. If this is so, I desire that the share of mine shall be given to his son, Feroze Varun, and that this should also be held in trust by my son, Rajiv, and his wife, Sonia, till Feroze Varun attains majority. I am happy to see

that Rajiv and Sonia love Feroze Varun as much as their own children and I am sure they will safeguard his interests in every way they can.

5. (11) I hereby appoint my son, Rajiv Gandhi, as the executor of this will, and his decision on the meaning and interpretation of the contents of this will, as well as on matters not specifically dealt with herein, shall be final. In the event that my son, Rajiv Gandhi, is unable to perform the duties of the executor of this will due to circumstances beyond his control, his wife, Sonia Gandhi, shall be the executor of this will and shall enjoy the powers given to Rajiv Gandhi.

6. This will is signed by me at New Delhi today, 4th May, 1981, in the presence of witnesses".

Signed by the abovenamed, Indira Gandhi, in the presence of us, both being present at the same time, who at her request and in her presence and in the presence of each other, have hereunto subscribed our names as witnesses.

Witness—1—M. V. Rajan, W-57A, Greater Kailash-1, New Delhi-110048.

Witness 2—Makhanlal Fotedar, 123, South Avenue, New Delhi.

CSO: 4600/1588

# MIZO NATIONAL FRONT LEADER LALDENG DISCUSSES DEMANDS

New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 10 Apr 85 p 4

[Interview with Laldenga, leader of the Mizo National Front, by Alok Tomar and Aditi; date and place not specified]

[Text] The Mizo National Front (MNF) is an organized terrorist group. Mr Laldenga, its leader, has been living in a government house on Mahadev Road for the last two and a half months. His "enemy," the Government of India, has provided troops for his protection.

We interviewed Laldenga 2 or 3 days before the last phase of his talks with the Government of India. He did not invite us in as he had his papers spread all over his room. "I am busy 24 hours preparing for the talks, hoping to conclude my 20-year-old war," he told us.

Laldenga appeared to be self-confident but a bit irritated with the Indian Government. "I am the undisputed leader of MNF and the underground Mizoram government, as I was elected by a democratic process. People who opposed me before this election have disappeared," smiling Laldenga added.

This sunny smile could belong to any tribal man, but his shrewed eyes seemed to belie this smile. His eyes reminded us of thousands of newspaper headlines from all over the world calling him "crazy like a fox" and the "murdering monkey," among other names.

"After this long war I have to be careful when to laugh and when to be quiet and when to believe," Laldenga said and smiled again. Laldenga, who used violence, terrorism and help from other countries to get votes, is a devout Christian and goes to church twice a day.

Question: Please explain the politics of the MNF and Mizoram.

Laldenga: I started it in 1961. It is a typical political party. Our purpose was to educate people in Mizoram about our problems and their causes. We became very popular and were able to establish our own temporary government.

Question: Was not MNF declared illegal because of its terrorist activities?

Laldenga: We have the Mizo National Army to protect our interests. It uses arms just like the Indian Army. I am the leader of my army as well as the MNF.

Question: Your government was not elected unopposed. Could you call it representative?

Laldenga: Which government is fully representative? The Indian Government is not, and neither is the U. S. Government. They represent just a few people -- maybe 20 to 30 percent of their population. In this respect my government is even better. Even your parliament admits that my government has the approval of 70 to 90 percent of the Mizo population. In a conference in Aizol, I had asked people for a vote of confidence and got it.

Question: What are your demands?

Laldenga: I want our rights. People in Mizoram do not even have drinking water. This is a basic human need. We are not asking for big things. We want Mizoram to prosper and we want to participate in decision-making.

Question: You are talking about self-rule. Once, perhaps during the Morarji era, you wanted a separate country.

Laldenga: We do not want to be separate; just independent. Your constitution...

Question: Is not that your constitution, also?

Laldenga: No, that is not our constitution. That is yours. We cannot accept a constitution written without our representation. Did anyone consult us when they were writing the constitution?

Question: But you have said that your demands are within the framework of the Indian constitution.

Laldenga: All I said was that we have agreed with the Indian Government to work within the constitution provided it is amended according to our demands. Our interim government has its own constitution and we respect it. We want to work with the Indian Government and be recognized as a province under provision 371 of the Indian Constitution. There is no problem there. If Kashmir can have it, why not us? (Two days before this interview the Congress high command was considering this demand by Mizoram's Chief Minister Lalthanwala. The Congress party was badly burned in the Kashmir issue and wanted to be careful this time.)

Question: Do you feel that your talks will be successful? The government appears to be undecided about you.

Laldenga: I am trying to be optimistic. I have one another demand. Eight of my important associates have been jailed by the Indian Government. There will be no agreement until they are released. I had talks with Mrs Gandhi and she had begun to understand the seriousness of our demands. She is not here anymore. Rajiv invited me on 15 February even though I have been here for more than 2 months. I have met Rajiv twice. He appears to be a gentleman. We did not discuss politics, however. Let us see how my talks with Narsimha Rao come out.



Question: The MNF holds a peculiar position in Mizoram politics. It has a love-hate relationship with Congress (I). Please comment on this situation.

Laldenga: I am the kingmaker there. Anyone trying to set up a government has to have our approval. They have to cooperate with us. At the same time, they declare to the world that they hate Laldenga. It does not bother me.

Question: In other words, the present interim Congress government of Mizoram has your approval.

Laldenga: Yes, sure. They got power with my approval. I can dethrone them any time I wish.

Question: Does this mean that if your talks are unsuccessful, you will overthrow this interim government?

Laldenga: I have not decided about it. They need us; we do not need them. I will hold talks only at the New Delhi level.

Question: Does not this mean that there are two governments in Mizoram, your interim government and the other established by Congress?

Laldenga: Yes, you can say that. This, however, is a necessary oxymoron.

Question: Where does your interim government get money for weapons?

Laldenga: We receive help from several countries. We need weapons and we do not have a factory to make them. To feed and pay an army of this size costs money. Mizoram people pay around 4 million rupees annually. Your great parliament, however, believes this income is only about 1.1 million rupees. Since we do not have enough money, we have to accept foreign aid.

Question: Why do those countries help you? What will they get out of it?

Laldenga: Some countries have a permanent policy of harassing other countries. I assume the countries helping us have the same designs. All countries follow this policy. India is no exception when it comes to helping other countries.

Question: Why do they help after all? Will they not ask for favors in exchange for their help when your own government is established? What guarantee is there that their requested favors will not be against India's interest?

Laldenga: I have not received any suggestion or request of this kind. They are helping us and we gratefully accept it. That is enough for us. We do not give them anything in return. We have to admit that our soldiers are being trained by experts from these countries. But what of it? This is a part of our mutual agreements.

Question: What are these mutual agreements? Which country or countries are you talking about?

Laldenga: I cannot tell you about that. Ask the Indian intelligence agencies. They perhaps know where we get help and how much! All we know is that our needs exceed our resources. We cannot even arm our soldiers. This is not a military secret. The Indian Government knows it. We make up our inadequacy in arms with courage.

Question: You claim not to recognize the Indian Constitution and at the same time propose to hold talks within its jurisdiction. In New Delhi you challenge Congress (I), and in Mizoram you help it form a government. At one end you solicit help from governments that traditionally harass India and at the same time you declare Mizoram as an integral part of India. You ask India for help in development projects and run to London for political asylum. What is all this about?

Laldenga: You should reach conclusions on your own. Whatever I do is grossly misinterpreted by the government media. If the Indian Government refuses to recognize my government, I have no alternative but to seek political asylum.

Question: Is it true?

Laldenga: Time will tell the truth.

Question: Is the [Christian] church helping your cause?

Laldenga: No, the church has nothing to do with us.

Question: But the priest who married you acted as a mediator between the Government of India and the MNF.

Laldenga: Oh yes, that would be Reverend James! He is very old and lives in London. We do not need any mediator at all.

Question: What are the reasons for the delay in your talks? It is said that Mr Parthasarathy has been intentionally delaying them.

Laldenga: Parthasarathy is representing Rajiv Gandhi; that is what the latter told me. He neither understands the problem nor has he the authority to make decisions. I do not think he did anything purposely. Why do you suspect this?

Question: Because the Sri Lankan Government has demanded that Parthasarathy not be involved in negotiations with you.

Laldenga: Was this because Mr Parthasarathy is a Tamil?

Question: What about Brigadier Selo and Naripen Chakarbaraty's comments that Laldenga is a has-been and no longer represents the Mizoram people?

Laldenga: They have been calling me a has-been since 1975. It is okay and I will agree with them. It does not, however, change anything. I have come here to talk with the Indian Government as an equal. Does this not mean anything? In any case, it is not my personal power but that of the Mizo people.

Question: Why did you pick London for political asylum?

Laldenga: London has very formal relations with India. There is neither closeness nor hostility between the two countries. That was the reason for my choice. I believe that politically the United States would have been a better choice.

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CSO: 4624/17

AKALI DAL LEADER MEETS WITH MP'S, SUGGESTS STEPS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 30 Apr 85 p 1

[Text] NEW DELHI, April 29 (UNI)--AKALI Dal chief, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, today asked the government to re-establish its credibility with the Sikh community to pave the way for a dialogue to resolve the Punjab tangle.

In his hour-long discussions with some opposition leaders here, he said recent events, especially the riots that followed Mrs. Indira Gandhi's assassination, had shattered the community's confidence in the government. This must be restored first.

He listed abolition of the special courts, lenient view towards army deserters, immediate release of Sikh students and an inquiry into the riots at other places as had been ordered in Delhi, as some of the steps which could help normalise the situation.

The meeting, which took place at the residence of the former Union minister, Mr. I. K. Gujaral, was attended by the leaders of the Janata party, the Congress (S), the Congress (J), Telugu Desam, Peasants and Workers party and the Janavadi party.

Mr. Longowal said although the government had lifted the ban on the All-India Sikh Students' Federation (AISSF), a large number of its workers continued to be behind bars.

Referring to the problem of army deserters, he said Sikh army men had acted under intense emotional strain as they felt hurt at "Operation Blue Star".

The former union minister, Mr. S. S. Barnala, was also present.

PTI adds: Opposition leaders told Mr. Longowal and Mr. Barnala that the assassis of Mrs. Indira Gandhi should not be characterised as martyrs by the Dal.

The opposition representatives said in a democracy political differences could not be settled through assassinations and terrorism.

The Janata party leader, Prof. Madhu Dandavate, who briefed pressmen about the meeting, said the reaction to their appeal was "good."

Prof. Dandavate said the opposition told them that in future meetings or pronouncements the Akalis would not do that as it would further embitter the feelings.

At the outset, Prof. Dandavate said the Akali leaders affirmed the Dal stood by the unity and integrity of India, was opposed to Khalistan and wanted an inquiry by a supreme court judge into the violence indulged in by extremists and others in Punjab.

Both the communist parties, while supporting the move, said they would like to have a separate meeting with the Akali leaders. Mr. H. N. Bahuguna of the Lok Dal had a similar reason for not attending.

Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, who was keen on attending the meeting, could not do so because of an incident yesterday at his public meeting where a bomb had exploded.

Meanwhile, four top Akali leaders--Sant Longowal, Mr. Parkash Singh Badal, Mr. G. S. Tohra and Mr. Surjit Singh Barnala--are meeting in Chadigarh on Monday night for the first time after their release from detention under the National Security Act.

CSO: 4600/1583

## JANATA DISTRICT LEVEL MEET PLANS TWO-PRONGED STRATEGY

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 30 Apr 85 p 1

[Text]

Ballia, April 29: The Janata Party will adopt a two-pronged strategy for its reemergence as the national alternative. The decision was taken at the party's district-level conference which concluded today at Rattopur Sorwan here. The party will stress on organisation and constructive activity involving local problems.

The Janata Party president, Mr Chandra Shekhar, the general secretary, Mr Bapu Kaldate, and other national leaders spoke at the conference. Later membership cards, which Mr Kaldate described as cards of responsibility, were given to over 2,000 workers with the instructions to enroll at least 10 members each within three months in the 1,400 villages in Ballia.

On the constructive approach the conference decided that the party workers, mainly the Yuva Janata members, would visit the villages under their responsibility and would physically involve themselves in hygiene, school construction and afforestation programmes. They would also work on the J.P. Memorial at Sitabdiara—now Jayaprakash Nagar—in the district and complete it by October 11, his

birthday.

On the first day of the conference Mr Kaldate advised the party workers to treat their party as a voluntary organisation and nothing else. Only those willing to work for the country and prepared for sacrifice should join the party without expecting anything. It was impossible for the party to give all its member tickets for the Assembly or Lok Sabha elections. He said even the sitting party MLAs and MPs should be prepared to sacrifice their seats if the party so demanded in the interest of the nation.

Mr Kaldate said the country faced a troubled future. The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi's modernisation plans were faulty and could have disastrous consequences. "He wants science to chop off human hands but we want science for assisting human hands," Mr Kaldate said.

More than 3,000 party workers from the district attended the conference offering to be active members. The district unit of the party would meet again within the next three months to assess the success of its two-pronged strategy.

CSO: 4600/5184

CORRESPONDENT INTERVIEWS INDIAN YOUTH CONGRESS PRESIDENT

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 1 May 85 p 9

[Text]

Anand Sharma, who succeeded Mr Tariq Anwar as the president of the Indian Youth Congress a few days ago, feels that political parties should not be allowed to be formed if they do not have a distinct social and economic ideology for the nation as a whole. Parties based on regional or sectarian appeal, he says, have caused immense harm to the country's body politic and it is time a review was made of the constitutional provisions relating to the formation of political parties.

Staff Correspondent Padmanand Jha interviewed Mr Sharma, the youngest member in the Rajya Sabha, after his appointment as the IYC president.

Q. What are your plans for the Youth Congress?

A. I feel that the IYC should throw up more politically-conscious, forward-looking young men and women who can supplement the Government's efforts to prepare the nation for the 21st century.

Our main thrust will be to break the barriers which certain people and forces are trying to preserve or re-erect. I am referring to barriers of caste, creed and regionalism; barriers which were broken in the course of our freedom struggle but which have come up again as in Assam and Punjab and now in Gujarat.

Q. To what extent you feel that the growth of such tendencies is a result of social conditions in which the post-independence generation has grown — conditions which are marked by unemployment, poverty

and social disparities?

A. We achieved independence after centuries of foreign rule. We inherited an economy that was in shambles. Since then India has taken giant strides, largely due to the strong foundations laid by Pandit Nehru in the initial years and then due to the direction provided by Indira Gandhi. Today we can assert that we are one of the leading nations in the developing world.

We however do have social and economic problems. Social disparities still prevail and are to an extent the cause of tensions. But economic disparities have been reduced with the growth and development that have taken place since independence.

The media too is responsible for tensions. When youngsters read about the advances made by other

countries and compare that with what is written about their own country, their frustrations grow. The tensions grow. Unfortunately, these very people have not been made aware of our freedom struggle, a hundred years ago the media and the leaders had exhorted people to rise above considerations of caste and creed and fight for independence. This had led to a unity among the people which made the fight easier.

**Q.** How do you expect people to rise above petty considerations when since independence the politicians themselves have been cynically utilising caste and creed differences to further their interests?

**A.** Quite right, during the freedom struggle our leaders were not only fighting for the country's liberation but for social emancipation as well. They were not fighting for their caste, creed or region. Unfortunately, this ethos has, by and large, vanished in the post-independence period. Politics, as a result, has become self-centred. A number of vested interests have come up leading to the formation of numerous political parties which has caused immense harm to our body politic.

**Q.** Could you name some such parties?

**A.** Immediately after independence we saw the emergence of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party. In today's context, there is the Akali Dal which represents communal interests. Earlier, it represented the interests of big farmers.

The only aim of such parties is to capture power. This there were people who came to power through a purely regional appeal. As they neither had the stature nor the ideology to make their mark, they took to regional, caste and communal politics. With every general election such people poured more and more venom into our body politic and now the effects of the poison are showing.

These politicians have exploited the socio-political problems of their region which, in any case, are easy to exploit. Mr N T Rama Rao did that in Andhra. He has been ascribing the poverty there to the neglect of the State by the Congress.

**Q.** But is not the Congress responsible for Mr Rama Rao's rise? Didn't he merely point out the frequent changes in the State leadership as an example of the Centre's cavalier attitude towards the State?

**A.** This is true to some extent. But in a democracy such things (change in State leadership) do happen. Decisions have to be taken by national parties as to who will lead that party in a particular State. These things are internal matters of the party.

**Q.** What in your opinion are the reasons for the rise of regionalism?

**A.** I feel that political parties should not be allowed to be formed if they do not have a distinct social and economic ideology for the nation as a whole. Unfortunately, we have allowed the formation of parties that have only a regional or sectarian appeal.

**Q.** What in your view should be done to this category of parties already in existence? Would you go so far as to recommend their ban?

**A.** I would only say that they have misused freedom and it is time that this question is reviewed.

**Q.** Some time back we heard about the outrageous behaviour of some IYC delegates to the Nagpur NSUI Congress. They looted shops and terrorised people in the city as well as at railway stations on their way to Nagpur. How do you plan to deal with such elements?

**A.** An active, lively and vibrant movement like the IYC is bound to get into controversies. Some members might have indulged in rowdiness (in Nagpur) inviting criticism. But you must remember that the IYC, like the Congress, is a mass movement, not a cadre-based organisation. The majority of its members are good. The possibility of some anti-social elements also being in it is possible. To my mind, however, the entire Nagpur episode has been blown out of proportions. This is not to say I condone rowdiness. As IYC president I will weed out all such elements from the movement.

Another point about the Nagpur episode—while it is true that the distribution of food was mismanaged during the session and as a result some students misbehaved, it is also true that a communal organisation which is very powerful in that city got some undesirable elements to infiltrate the delegates. It is our fault that we did not screen them properly. We are guilty of that but not for some of the obscene behaviour our boys have been charged with.

We are going to be very strict about these matters in future. If anyone is found guilty he will not be spared.



## PAPER REPORTS ON DEVELOPMENTS IN AKALI DAL

### Joginder Singh on Faction Dissolution

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 2 May 85 p 1

[Excerpt] AMRITSAR, May 1 (UNI)--MR. Joginder Singh, father of the late Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, announced today that the two Akali Dal factions led by Sant Longowal and Mr. Jagdev Singh Talwandi had been dissolved.

Mr. Joginder Singh told a news conference at Amritsar that a nine-member ad hoc committee had been formed to run the affairs of a united party to be known as the Shiromani Akali Dal.

Both Mr. Longowal and Mr. Talwandi were understood to have handed over their resignations from their factions to Mr. Joginder Singh on April 3 and authorised him to act as an arbiter to bring about unity in the panth.

The members of the ad hoc committee are Simranjit Singh Mann, a former IPS officer at present under detention, Mr. Longowal, Mr. Talwandi, the SGPC chief, Mr. G. S. Tohra, the former Punjab chief minister, Mr. Parkash Singh Badal, Mr. Gurtej Singh, a dismissed IAS officer, Mr. Harinder Singh, dismissed IFS officer and a former Indian counsellor in Norway, the All-India Sikh Students' Federation president, Mr. Manjit Singh, and Mr. Jagjit Singh Rode, elder brother of Sant Bhindranwale.

Mr. Mann has been appointed convener of the committee. However, till his release Mr. Joginder Singh would work as acting convener.

Besides, there would be a 31-member advisory committee. The members of the advisory committee were yet to be nominated by the committee.

Mr. Inderjit Singh Sekhon, an advocate, who masterminded the unity move has been appointed general secretary. The appointment of two secretaries was still to be made.

Observing that the panth had been undergoing the worst crisis, Mr. Joginder Singh said the Sikhs aspired for an Akali leadership which could lead the panth in the right direction.

PM not aware (UNI from Dhanbad): Mr. Ranjiv Gandhi today said that he had no knowledge of the "four-point" formula of the Akali Dal to solve the Punjab issue.

Talking to newsmen here after addressing a May Day rally, Mr. Gandhi said he came to know of such a formula only through newspaper reports.

Mr. Gandhi said he was hopeful of restoring normalcy in Punjab "but newspapers and the Akalis should maintain a low profile to help quick return of normalcy there," he said.

He said the government might adopt a "flexible stand" but it would not be at the cost of integrity and security of the nation.

#### Reaction from Longowal

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 3 May 85 p 1

[Text] JALANDHAR, May 2 (UNI)--THE Akali Dal president, Mr. Harchand Singh Longowal, said today that the delegates session of the Dal, called on May 17 in Amritsar, will consider the "proposal" envisaging a nine-member ad hoc committee announced by Mr. Joginder Singh, father of the late Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, in Amritsar yesterday.

Amending his earlier statement repudiating the nine-member committee, Mr. Longowal said the session would consider all suggestions and proposals, including the one made by Mr. Joginder Singh. He said the Dal would abide by the decision of the session.

The amendment was communicated by Mr. Longowal himself on phone. This followed a meeting between him and the SGPC chief, Mr. Gurcharan Singh Tohra, who had arrived here a few hours ago.

The former Punjab chief minister, Mr. Parkash Singh Badal, is also expected to reach here from Amritsar.

#### Tohra's Stance

Mr. Tohra said on telephone that he supported Mr. Longowal's statement as "a faithful soldier of the Akali Dal."

Mr. Tohra said: "We all have respect in our hearts for Baba Joginder Singh" and his proposal would be placed before the delegates session. "I will follow whatever direction is given to me by the Akali Dal president," Mr. Tohra added.

Earlier, expressing "surprise" at Mr. Joginder Singh's announcement, Mr. Longowal had said in a written statement that "neither I nor anybody else has the right to dissolve the Akali Dal or form an ad hoc committee."

He said he had met Mr. Joginder Singh on April 24 and had requested him to convene a joint meeting of the two factions of the Akali Dal to remove any misunderstanding for panthic unity.

Mr. Longowal said he had been waiting for a date to be fixed for such a meeting when Mr. Joginder Singh made this "surprise" announcement.

Repudiating the announcement of dissolution of the Longowal and Talwandi factions, Mr. Longowal denied having handed over his resignation to Mr. Joginder Singh or having agreed to the dissolution of his party.

He, however, reiterated his desire for panthic unity and said a delegates session of the party had been convened for May 17 in Amritsar to review the situation arising from the dissolution of the two factions of the party and the formation of a nine-member ad hoc committee.

At his press conference in the Guru Ram Das Sarai in the Golden Temple complex yesterday, Mr. Joginder Singh had distributed photo copies of letters from Mr. Longowal and Mr. Talwandi.

Mr. Longowal said in the letter: "I empower Baba Joginder Singh that whatever decision he takes for the betterment of the panth will be acceptable to me."

#### Meeting Suggested

Mr. Talwandi's letter said: "Keeping in view the interests of the panth I will accept any decision taken by you provided that I will not accept Mr. Longowal in the capacity of president or convener of any committee."

Expressing surprise at Mr. Joginder Singh's announcement Mr. Longowal said: "I never asked for dissolution," but only for a meeting between the two factions for "panthic unity."

In his letter to Mr. Jagjit Rode, Bhindranwale's elder brother, he had made no mention of resignation.

The Akali chief said he had mentioned before the high priests his desire to quit the party post soon after his release from jail, but the priests had asked him to continue to run the affairs of the party.

Declining to comment on the reported statement by senior Akali leader Atma Singh welcoming the formation of the nine-member panel, Mr. Longowal said the general house meeting would discuss all such matters.

Calling for an end to the formation of ad hoc committees at this critical juncture, he said the need of the hour was to strengthen the Akali Dal which "represented" Sikhs.

Referring to his "long meeting" with Mr. Jagdev Singh Talwandi, here on April 21, Mr. Longowal said the "whole basis for panthic unity was finalised at that meeting". But this could not be achieved by dissolving the leading

and historic party of the panth. The panthic unity could be strengthened by strengthening the party, he added.

Mr. Longowal said the Akali Dal was a democratically elected party and had its own constitution. "It elects its district jathas (units) and entire delegates house," he added.

"I was elected president of the Akali Dal according to its constitution and I believe in the democratic basis of the party," Mr. Longowal said.

Badal silent (UNI from Amritsar): Mr. Parkash Singh Badal said here today that he would continue to abide by the directives of Mr. Longowal.

Mr. Badal, who visited the Golden Temple complex today for the first time after "Operation Blue Star" said he would not comment on the reported dissolution of the Akali factions by Mr. Joginder Singh.

Mr. Badal said he would go by "the consent" of the party president. "I am a disciplined party worker and would obey the dictates of the party leadership," he added.

Senior Akali leaders, including the former Punjab minister, Mr. Atma Singh, Mr. Prakash Singh Majitha, the Akali vice-president, Mr. Shekhawan, the former Punjab minister, Mr. Balwinder Singh Bhundari, Akali legislators Ranjit Singh Brahmputra and Natha Singh Dalin were present at the press conference.

Without directly welcoming the formation of an ad-hoc committee Mr. Atma Singh and Mr. Shekhawan--who owe allegiance to the Badal faction--said "our formula for unity has ultimately been accepted."

Mr. Atma Singh had mooted the idea of forming a presidium to run the party and forge unity in the panth. He was, however, served with a show-cause notice by the Akali Dal president for "violating party discipline."

Curfew imposed (TOINS from Khanna): Curfew was imposed in Khanna till 5 a.m. tomorrow in view of the tension following the death of Mr. Bhisham Prakash, president of the block Congress committee, in a shoot-out in the party offices last night. Two other Congress workers were injured in the shoot-out.

Two youths, suspected to be terrorists, went to the office and started firing. Later they escaped on two scooters parked outside the Congress office.

CSO: 4600/1591

## PAPERS REPORT, COMMENT ON DEFENSE DEAL WITH ITALY

### Important for Self-Reliance

Madras THE HINDU in English 2 May 85 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 1.

A comprehensive agreement was signed by India and Italy today providing for cooperation in research and development of sophisticated defence systems in highly specialised fields like avionics, electronics, lasers and other inter-related scientific spheres.

The agreement, which was signed by Dr. V. S. Arunachalam, Scientific Adviser to the Defence Ministry, and Gen. G. Piovano, Defence Secretary of Italy, has no provision for purchase of any arms.

The purpose of this agreement, which is a follow-up of the Memorandum of Understanding signed by the two countries during the visit of the Italian Defence Minister to India a few months ago, is to enable them to exchange information on latest scientific developments, cooperate in research and development, and offer each other components and designs of sub-systems that could be integrated into the bigger weapon systems being developed by them for use in electronic warfare.

The agreement itself is not of any great importance since Italy is not a major military power engaged in the development or manufacture of latest weapon systems. But it has enough experience in scientific and technological research with military applicability which could be of immense value to India in its quest for achieving a higher degree of self-reliance for meeting its defence requirements.

**Salient features:** Explaining the salient features of this agreement, Dr. Arunachalam said Indian defence scientists would be sent to Italy to identify specific areas in which the two countries could coordinate to mutual advantage. The Defence Ministry clarified a couple of days ago that there was no proposal under consideration for setting up joint research establishments.

The agreement has been described as yet another important milestone in the rapidly increasing Indo-Italian cooperation. The big Ital-

ian companies have been participating in India's industrial development and are now making an ambitious bid to secure Hazira-Bijapur-Jagdishpur (HBJ) gas pipeline contract.

The Italian strategy is to confine its major participation to oil exploration, petro-chemicals, power generation and pipeline construction, but develop simultaneously a degree of defence cooperation to strengthen its political links with India for supplementing the economic relations. It is not seeking to compete with Britain, France or West Germany, much less with the United States or the Soviet Union in selling weaponry for the Indian Army, Navy or Air Force.

The Italian Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister were due to visit India this summer, but the trip had been deferred towards the end of this year because of their preoccupation with some local elections. It was decided to go ahead with the signing of this agreement at the official level without waiting for an appropriate political occasion.

**First accord:** The agreement which is initially for a period of five years can be extended for similar durations. It is the first such accord signed with any West European country specifically for cooperation in the research and development of latest weapon systems like electronic counter-measures and laser beams for use in modern warfare.

But an Inter-governmental Memorandum of Understanding was signed two or three years ago with France. Negotiations have been going on with both Britain and West Germany for similar agreements on long term cooperation.

The Italian Defence Secretary called on the Defence Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, and his Indian counterpart, Mr. S. K. Bhatnagar, after signing the agreement. He is due to go to Madras tomorrow to visit the Avadi tank factory to get an idea of India's capacity to absorb modern defence technology and embark on licensed production, besides designing and developing an indigenous battle tank to meet its future requirements.

## Defense Research Scientists' Fears

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 3 May 85 p 5

[Article by Cecil Victor]

[Text]

**T**he long-suffering scientists of the Defence Research and Development set-up have reason to be chary about the just concluded memorandum of understanding with Italy.

Many of them feel that such arrangements are detrimental to indigenous R and D and events have shown them to be correct.

Several projects initiated at Defence laboratories have never seen the light of day because of user resistance demonstrated by revision of "qualitative staff requirements" (QSR) or exaggerated demands on laboratories in the full knowledge that given the state of technology it would be impossible to fulfil within a given time frame.

A case in point is the weapons locating radar which was to have been developed by the Electronics Research and Development Establishment, Bangalore. The laboratory was asked to demonstrate a multi-target acquisition capability but the Defence Ministry went and imported a single-target weapons locating radar "Cymbaline" and efforts are under way to incorporate into it multi-target capability.

The Public Accounts Committee of Parliament has documented several instances of how "QSRs" are changed at the whim and fancy of certain persons in the user service. The last such disclosure was that of the missile system.

The link-up with the Italians specifically states an exchange of information about on-going research and development. The Defence Ministry itself has stated that no nation is willing to divulge its secrets. We will now be ex-

changing information on some very good work being done in some of our laboratories.

Such link-ups have already proved to be disastrous to India. More than one person involved in securing radar technology from the US has defected and several Indian scientists sent to a "very friendly" Western country have just returned and complained of physical and mental deprivations. Some of these men work in very sensitive laboratories and their absence will affect the on-going projects they are involved in.

Both Britain and Italy are members of NATO and their sales of strategic equipment are closely supervised by the US. "Neutral" Sweden was unable to sell India the Viggen technology because the engine was American.

The possibility of Indian research and development work being sabotaged or sidetracked is ever-present. As stated earlier, "QSRs" can be manipulated. Persons who have in the past two decades caused the nation to lose what Scientific Adviser to the Minister of Defence V S Arunachalam described as a "generation" of scientific advancement are being retained in strategic positions in the R and D set-up.

The R and D establishment itself is being so manipulated that defence scientists are watching with fear and anxiety the DRDO's attempts to wrest recruitment and promotions from the Union Public Service Commission.

A very senior DRDO official has said "off the record" of course, that so far there have been no suicides in DRDO establishments. Perhaps one has to be dead to illustrate the frustrations in the DRDO.

CSO: 4600/1590

# MINISTER ASKS URGENT MEASURES FOR PALESTINE CONFERENCE

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 2 May 85 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, May 1 (PTI)--THE situation in West Asia did not brook any delay, the minister of state for external affairs, Mr. Khursheed Alam Khan, said today while calling for urgent preparatory measures for convening an international conference on Palestine at the earliest.

Inaugurating a U.N. symposium on "the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people" here, Mr. Khan said "time is of the essence and delay does not facilitate a solution of the problem in the Middle East." The continued denial to the Palestinian people of their basic and inherent right to self-determination and nationhood, he said, "is a sordid chapter in a seemingly endless tragedy."

The movement of non-aligned nations, the minister said, had, consistently advocated a comprehensive solution of the question of Palestine.

It was at the initiative of the non-aligned that a majority of UN resolutions on the subject had been adopted. Non-aligned countries had been particularly active in mobilising international support against Israeli action in occupied territories and its invasion of Lebanon.

India's own sympathy for the people of Palestine and support for the establishment of a Palestinian state, Mr. Khan said, "are rooted in our awareness of the historical, territorial and national identity of the Palestinians." The continuing struggle of the "brave Palestinians has evoked sympathy and understanding among the people of India to this day," he said.

Even 36 years after efforts by the UN to solve the issue, the question of Palestine "remains as tangled as ever before with the major protagonists in the field remaining as far apart as they were in the beginning of the U.N. involvement on this issue."

Attempts by the world community to convene an international conference on the Middle-East were propelled by a sense of urgency, by an awareness raised to a "level of revulsion" over the continued violation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to their ancient homeland.

UNI adds: Mr. Massamba Sapre, chairman of the committee on the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, today described the PLO chief, Mr. Yasser Arafat, as the sole and legitimate leader of the Palestinians."

Talking to newsmen, Mr. Massamba, who is here in connection with the UN symposium, said all other things opposed to Mr. Arafat were unimportant.

Mr. Massamba, who is also Senegal's permanent representative to the UN, said Mr. Arafat "symbolises the Palestinian's struggle against Israel."

CSO: 4600/1591



## COMMENTATOR WELCOMES ESTABLISHMENT OF INTELLIGENCE PANEL

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 2 May 85 p 8

[Article by Inder Malhotra]

[Text]

**P**RESS reports, yet to be confirmed officially, indicate that the long overdue reorganisation and revamping of the security and intelligence network in the country is at last under way. An "apex committee", headed by the Prime Minister himself, is being formed to oversee the complex, and often tangled, web of agencies and institutions concerned with intelligence gathering and evaluation and to take an integrated view of the problems of national security, both internal and external, in the widest sense of the term.

The cabinet's committee on political affairs (CCPA), which duplicates as the cabinet committee on national security, will continue to function as at present, of course. But it will now receive proposals for approval or action only after these have filtered through the sieve of the high-powered apex committee.

An apex committee of sorts did exist during the last three or four years also. But it consisted only of three members — the cabinet secretary, the principal secretary to the Prime Minister and Mr. R. N. Kao, then senior security adviser in the cabinet secretariat. Mr. Kao resigned on the morrow of Indira Gandhi's brutal assassination — which was a searing indictment of not only the security organisation around her but also of the entire intelligence establishment — and the then principal secretary to the Prime Minister, Dr. P. C. Alexander, resigned in January after the spy scandal burst into the open. Since Mr. Kao was also the chairman of the senior intelligence board, intended to supervise and coordinate the work of the two joint intelligence committees, external and internal, his

resignation on November 1 inevitably meant the virtual demise of this board, too.

In other words, for nearly six months, during which the country has witnessed internal upheaval in various states, such as Gujarat, and has had to cope with increasingly complex external problems, such as the ones arising from the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, it has been almost completely without any mechanism to supervise what various intelligence and security agencies have been doing or failing to do.

### Welcome Departure

Whether, and if so, how far things will improve under the new dispensation that is being ushered in remains to be seen. But it is obvious that the present apex committee is a vast improvement over what existed in the past. The imperfections and flaws of the previous pattern were manifest. Both the cabinet secretary and the Prime Minister's principal secretary (at present the post is lying vacant) are grossly overburdened with other responsibilities and cannot possibly devote to intelligence and security the attention they deserve. The previous apex committee was thus dependent almost entirely on the undoubtedly exceptional expertise of one individual, Mr. R. N. Kao. But since he was also chairman of the senior intelligence board, he was, for all practical purposes, reporting to himself as the only truly effective member of the apex committee.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's decision personally to take over the chairmanship of the new apex committee, by itself, would have given the committee the prestige and authority it has lacked in the past.

But there are other encouraging features of its composition which merit attention.

First, the idea of associating one or two chief ministers, especially of sensitive states, with the committee is a sound one. Not only will it add to the committee's efficacy but, by giving states a feeling of participation in the making of decisions on security, also facilitate their speedy implementation. It will greatly help if chief ministers are appointed to the apex committee by rotation so that all regions as well as states ruled by parties other than the Congress can be represented at some stage or another.

Secondly, Mr. Gandhi has made a limited but welcome departure from the practice under which defence, security and intelligence are considered the close preserve of a handful of politicians, bureaucrats and service officers ensconced in office. He has included in the apex committee the director of the institute for defence studies and analysis, Mr. K. Subrahmanyan, who by virtue of being an IAS officer may be of the government but is not strictly in it. His expert knowledge of the subject qualifies him for the committee's membership eminently. However, the principle of drawing upon the ideas and advice of experts outside the charmed circle of the bureaucracy or service headquarters needs to be extended even further.

## A Second Look

The third merit of the new apex committee is that it will have a whole-time member-secretary and not be serviced by the very agencies whose work it is to supervise. For the job of member-secretary, a very experienced police officer, with long experience of intelligence in the past, Mr. R. K. Khandelwal, has been chosen. It is to be hoped that he would be able to lay the foundations of the apex committee's secretariat in a way that only those fully qualified to render advice to the committee are invited in and having come would stay in their jobs long enough, not treat them as stepping stones to other prized assignments.

The senior intelligence board will henceforth be headed by the cabinet secretary, Mr. P. K. Kaul, who is also a member of the apex committee. Security problems are not entirely new to him because for over a year he was defence secretary before moving to the ministry of finance from where he has been elevated to his present position. However, the composi-

tion of the board requires a careful second look.

For the board, except for its Chairman, consists of heads of the two joint intelligence committees, chiefs of the intelligence bureau (IB) and the research and analysis wing (RAW), and those officials of the ministries of external affairs, defence and home as well as the three armed forces who, at one stage or another, are involved in the work of intelligence agencies or the joint intelligence committees. Here again, a few whiffs of fresh air in the form of "outsiders" will prove beneficial.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has yet to take a decision on the future of the two joint intelligence committees — one collates and evaluates internal intelligence and the other external — which were formed not very long ago by bifurcating the integrated joint intelligence committee that had existed for years.

One of the reasons why the split was preferred was the steady aggravation of the problems of internal security, particularly in Punjab and the North-East. But the decision was wrong. And if, as reported, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is planning to merge the two joint intelligence committees into one, he is thinking on the right lines.

This is so because the problems of internal security are inextricably intermixed with threats from across India's borders and the latter cannot possibly be divorced from the tensions and conflicts in the surrounding region, to say nothing of the global fall-out of the overarching rivalry between the two superpowers, still at a highly inflamed pitch. A single JIC would be better suited to the task of dovetailing the activities of IB, which operates internally, and RAW which is responsible for external intelligence.

## Relentless Conflict

However to rest content with the appointment of the new apex committee, the merger of the two JICs and the reconstitution of the senior intelligence board will be to scratch merely the surface of a problem which runs very, very deep.

Intelligence agencies in this country are as badly run down as other constituents of the republic's infrastructure and for much the same reasons. If anything, their problems are more difficult because they have to work in secrecy and neither their failings nor the remedial measures to overcome these are ever fully exposed to

the light of day. And yet something has to be done to infuse a new life into IB and RAW. Or else the country would continue to be haunted by the kind of intelligence failures which have tormented it in the past and the well-meant reforms introduced by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi would be reduced to mere cosmetics.

In any corrective action, the pride of place must be given to providing IB and RAW with sound and stable leadership. Over the years, intelligence agencies have learnt to play safe and tell their political masters what the latter would like to hear. Nor is it a mere coincidence that in the case of IB at least intelligence chiefs have been sent packing at short notice rather like gardeners employed on daily wages.

A committee, headed by the former home secretary and governor, Mr. L. P. Singh, had made the excellent recommendation that IB and RAW chiefs should, like the comptroller and auditor-general, be appointed for a fixed five-year tenure which could be cut short only by following the procedure prescribed for removing the C.A.G. But this suggestion was not even looked at because of the feeling that the L. P. Singh committee was an off-spring of the Shah commission!

For much too long the stewardship of IB and RAW has been the monopoly of policemen. It is time that the MRTP act is invoked in this sphere and the police stranglehold is broken in the case of RAW at least.

Discipline in both IB and RAW has gone to the dogs at least partly because, having despaired of getting their legitimate grievances redressed by their superiors, the employees of the two outfits have started taking recourse to agitational activity incompatible with security organisations.

This problem has been greatly exacerbated by the relentless conflict between the IPS deputationists and the direct recruits. The caste war between the two in the corridors of RAW and IB is no less virulent than the one being witnessed in the streets of Ahmedabad. To put an end to it, the impetus must come — shall we say — from the apex.

## BJP OPENS DEBATE ON FUNDAMENTALS, REVIEWS ACTIONS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 2 May 85 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, May 1 (PTI)--THE Bharatiya Janata Party has initiated an open debate in the party on all fundamental issues including a review of its decisions to merge the Jana Sangh in the Janata Party in 1977 and to withdraw from the Janata in 1980.

The massive review of the party's functioning, achievements and shortcomings, in the wake of a near rout in the last Lok Sabha poll, will also have a fresh look at the policies the BJP has been adopting in the last five years as well as its style of functioning.

A 12-member working group, set up by the BJP national executive meeting held at Calcutta on March 16, will ascertain the views of the party functionaries at the grass root level in each state and recommend corrective measures.

The group, headed by the party's all-India secretary, Mr. K. L. Sharma, will also draw up a five-year plan of action on all fronts--organisational, agitational, constructive and electoral--with a view to galvanising the party and make it an effective instrument of political and socio-economic change.

A 54-point questionnaire has already been circulated among all the important party functionaries.

The working group, according to Mr. Sharma, will be visiting different states in batches of three each from this week and complete the task of exchanging views with the party workers by May 22. Meanwhile, the party workers would file their replies to the questionnaire and the working group would finalise its report by the first week of July, Mr. Sharma said.

An all-India camp of the BJP is planned in July where the report of the working group will be discussed and a final decision on the shape of the party taken.

### Broad Discussion

The working group will also invite suggestions from people other than party functionaries including intellectuals and experts in different walks of life

Efforts would also be made to attract specialists from the fields of labour, youth and legal profession and bring them to the fold of the party, Mr. Sharma said.

According to a circular sent by the party headquarters to all the state units, the state presidents are to convene meetings of the state office-bearers, convenors of all fronts and members of the national executive in the concerned state when the working group team visited their area.

"The discussions will be on a broader level and something much more than what has been mentioned in the questionnaire will be discussed," the circular said.

Some of the points raised in the BJP questionnaire are:

"Our consistent stand has been: merger--no, but adjustment of seats with like-minded parties and co-operation with other parties on specific issues--yes. Does this stand warrant a rethinking?"

"What are your views about the utility, role and position in the party set-up of the whole-time workers?"

"What in your opinion should be our attitude towards other national opposition parties?"

"What should be the main ideological thrust of the party and whether the same has properly been reflected in our five commitments?"

CSO: 4600/1591

## MANY PARTS OF COUNTRY AFFECTED BY WATER CRISIS

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 1 May 85 p 4

[Text] NEW DELHI, April 30--The failure of the monsoon and the winter rain last year not only hit crops in unirrigated areas, but also caused water shortages in towns and villages in many parts of the country. With the advent of summer, the severity of the water crisis is beginning to be felt and there has been no rain in States where it is due.

Even in Punjab and West Bengal, where the rain has been scanty but tubewell water irrigates crops, the rivers have less water than normal and power generation by hydel plants has been hit, as in other States. In West Bengal there are dry river beds for long stretches.

While officials of the Union Agriculture Ministry are unwilling to agree with reports that there is near famine in parts of Madhya Pradesh and the hill areas of U.P., severe drought continues and Central teams have toured affected areas in Madhya Pradesh, U.P., Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh this month for the second or third time within a year to assess the extent of the distress.

It is certain that further drought relief will be announced within a few days on the basis of the reports of the Central teams. Already the Centre has given more than Rs 200 crores to eight States where 32 million hectares and nearly 100 million people have been affected by the drought. A further relief of Rs 25 to 50 crores could be announced in Parliament for four or five States next week when the Agriculture Ministry's demands are discussed or in response to demands by members. Some funds--ways and means advances--have been released.

## Norms Revised

The norms on the basis of which drought relief is now given were revised some years ago. There has been considerable erosion of the value of the rupee since then and the Government has increased the new rates of relief from April 1. The new norms have yet to be announced.

The rate of drought relief granted works out to Rs 20 per head in the affected areas. This is considered by most States as inadequate even if the Centre regards the State's assessments as "rather exaggerated".

It is pointed out that the seven million people of Delhi receive considerably more subsidy for their supplies of milk, water and electricity besides a cheap bus service, the heavy losses of which are absorbed by the Centre.

What the poor in the villages elsewhere in the country are given when hit by natural calamities is much less. The Centre writes off the Delhi undertakings' losses of a few hundred crores of rupees. The minimum subsidy might work out to Rs 500 for each citizen of Delhi.

The U.P. Government has sought water tankers for the supply of drinking water in 17 districts. The damage to the rabi crop in Nainital and Almora districts is estimated at 50 to 75%.

Water scarcity is widespread in Madhya Pradesh and parts of all the 47 districts are affected and, in several areas, the shortage is severe. Rainfall has been erratic in all districts except Chhatisgarh. The State is pressing the Centre for immediate drought relief as it is short of funds.

In Karnataka, 50% of the kharif crop has been affected by one of the worst in living memory in 15,333 villages of the State affecting more than 14 million people. More than 34,000 relief works were started. These included the construction of new tanks and desilting of old ones. More than 15,000 borewells were sunk at a cost of Rs 26 crores. Nearly 15,000 hand-pumps have been replaced.

In Andhra, more than 200 taluks have been affected and about 1.5 million hectares could not be sown because of inadequate rain. About four million people have been affected. Minor irrigation projects and watershed development work in dryland farms have been started. Andhra Pradesh prefers rice to wheat supplied by the Centre for drought relief to those engaged in various works.

CSO: 4600/1586

## ADVANCED LIGHT HELICOPTERS TO REPLACE NAVY'S CHETAK

Madras THE HINDU in English 1 May 85 p 11

[Text]

BANGALORE, April 30.

Chetak helicopters, which have been with the Navy for nearly two decades, will soon be replaced by advanced light helicopters being developed at the Hindustan Aeronautics, Bangalore, the Chief of Naval Staff, Admiral R. H. Tahiliani, told a news conference here today.

The advanced light helicopters would permit greater load and have a higher forward speed, besides inbuilt modern electronic gadgets. The chetaks were being used for sea-air rescue and anti-submarine warfare.

The exact date when the advanced light helicopters would start rolling would be known only after his visit to the HAL. (The admiral left for the HAL straight from the press conference).

Pointing out that "we have been trying to increase our force level with emphasis on self-sufficiency", Admiral Tahiliani said INS Gomathi and Ganga would also be commissioned soon. While the Mazagoan docks would take care of building SSK submarines, Deepak and Shakthi tanker supports, imported from West Germany, would have a companion to be manufactured indigenously.

Referring to the Defence Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao's statement that the 'Navy needed more punch', the Admiral said "We will continue to build an effective Navy".

On making Karwar in Karnataka a naval base, Admiral Tahiliani said the Navy had chalked out certain details with the State Government and was now awaiting the Centre's sanction, including for committing of resources.

CSO: 4600/1587



## PAPERS REPORT 'DISAPPEARANCE' OF RADAR SCIENTIST

### Earlier 'Defection' Reported

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 4 May 85 p 1

#### [Text]

A second radar scientist working in the LRDE, Bangalore, has disappeared.

Mr Y Ratnakar Rao, belonged to the Radar Division 'B', the same division in which Mr M K Shandas, the first radar scientist to 'defect' to the US in late 1983 worked.

Mr Rao is now believed to be working in the same firm, Messrs SML, California, which had been awarded a contract by the Electronics Radar Developments Establishment (LRDE) to fabricate a sub-system called klystron transmitter in 1978 for the prestigious Low Flying Detection Radar (LFDR).

Enquiries with both the LRDE and Mr Rao's residence reveal that he has left the country. How he got the visa and foreign exchange is a mystery, though it is learnt, he did get permission from the Government several years ago to visit the US. He had reportedly gone at his own expense.

Mr Rao and Mr Shandas, were both working on the same project. While, the disappearance of Mr Shandas was acknowledged by the then Defence Minister R Venkataraman on 16 December 1983 in the Lok Sabha dubbing it as an "unauthorised absence", Mr Rao's departure has not been reported to the Government.

In 1983, the Government had assured the Lok Sabha that efforts would be made to either seek extradition of Mr Shandas.

Till date, nothing has been done.

The California firm's connection with the LRDE is rather curious as was its selection from a panel of firms to supply sensitive defence equipment to the country. It started in 1978 when the

LRDE decided, much against the suggestions of various scientists, to import the klystron transmitter from this firm.

At that time, the project cost stood at Rs 55 lakh, jumping to Rs 2.5 crore last year. When there was inordinate delay in the supply of the equipment, LRDE offered incentive payment to the tune of Rs 1 crore in foreign exchange to the firm. Despite that, there was further delay and the scientist who had been sent to oversee the project M K Shandas, was recalled.

He returned to India but, then, quietly slipped out of the country on his official passport. Mr Shandas' wife has already applied for US citizenship.

Meanwhile, the entire operational and technical specification of the LFDR are in the hands of Messrs SML and other foreign firms who had been approached before the contract was finalised.

After the defection of Mr Shandas, two of his colleagues, Mr G M Cleetus and Mr Viswanathan who had stood surety for him to the tune of Rs 3 lakh each, were sent by the LRDE to the US. While Mr Viswanathan returned, it is learnt that Mr Cleetus is still trying to get the radar project completed. Subsequently, Mr Ratnakar Rao also left, though no one in the LRDE is willing to say whether he went on leave or resigned.

While the LRDE is tight-lipped about these two scientists, Dr R P Shenoy, the LRDE director also went to the US last year. He had told newsmen as early as 7 October 1983 that the LFDR had been developed and that field trials were coming soon.

But what he failed to mention was that the sub-system for which Rs 1 crore has been spent in foreign exchange to get it from the US, was eventually designed and developed by LRDE scientists who had at the outset been against its import. They had been overruled by the director with these disastrous results.

It is now learnt that the LFDR trials have recently taken place at Bangalore airport, using the Indian designed sub-system. This has proved that the import of this very equipment from the US was unnecessary.

### Setback to Radar Program

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 5 May 85 p 1

[Text]

**Bangalore, May 4:** A senior radar scientist from the Electronic and Radar Development Establishment, Bangalore, one of the most sensitive defence units in the country, is missing. According to a reliable source, he has left the country for the United States.

The scientist, Mr Y. Ratnakara Rao, working in the prestigious Low Flying Detection Radar (LFDR) section of the establishment, has not reported for duty for more than six months.

The episode of the missing scientist comes close on the heels of the defection of another senior scientist at the establishment, Mr M.K. Shandas, to the United States some months ago. Mr Shandas, who also worked in the sensitive LFDR section, left suddenly for the US under mysterious circumstances.

Sources in the establishment were cryptic about Mr Rao's absence, saying he was on long leave. However, Mr Rao has vacated his house in the ITI complex. He left no forwarding address, although the neighbours believe that he left with his family for Hyderabad.

Meanwhile, another source there said Mr Rao was on medical leave for

"quite some months," getting it extended frequently. When he was finally asked to appear before the medical board, he tendered his resignation. However, he was told the resignation could not be accepted in Bangalore, and that "it has been forwarded to Delhi."

The sources added that Mr Rao has taken up a job at SML, California, an obscure radar research establishment. The scientist who defected earlier, Mr Shandas, is also working for the same firm. Both scientists, who worked in the same division 'B', apparently knew each other quite well.

The issue of Mr Shandas' defection had figured in Parliament last year. The then defence minister, Mr R. Venkataraman, had told the House that the government was making efforts to get Mr Shandas extradited since he was in possession of sensitive information relating to radar development in India.

Sources maintain that the two cases are related and the "defection" has been meticulously planned. The defection of the two scientists is also said to be a serious setback to the radar research programme in this country.

CSO: \$600/1593

## COMMENTARY BY IRNA ON WEST'S ANTI-ISLAMIC PROPAGANDA

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 2 May 85 p 3

[Text] IRNA Commentary—Along with the use of military force, and making use of the point of a spear to suppress the movements of nations, imperialism and foreign plunderers of the interests of the various nations of the world use propaganda constantly as one of the cornerstones of their effort to establish dominance.

A careful look at the daily expansion and strengthening of propaganda and news equipment such as radio stations belonging to England, America, China, Russia and France, and other efforts by the great powers of the world in this area shows that the West views these media as a very effective means, sometimes better than military and economic force, and has placed a high value on them. It is by means of these same media controlled by the superpowers that they portray plundering as development, military intervention as the acceptance of a request for military cooperation, and a plot for cultural dominance as cultural assistance; they use these media to portray their own interests abroad as the interests of the target nation, and to install leaders and politicians in the nations under consideration. They carry out personal assassination plots against politicians of whom they do not approve, and they constantly and systematically make underhanded comments in order to cut relations between leaders and the groups they lead.

Placing selected individuals in positions of power is one of the usual methods of the radio and news agencies of various powers of the world. Regarding Afghanistan, we see now that immediately after the death of the leaders of various political and military groups the British and American radio stations go to work interviewing individuals of their choice, presenting them as fighters, political leaders, and, implicitly, as qualified people. In so doing they make prominent personalities in the public eye of the people they have chosen in order to have control over the group when these people take power.

This was how the voice of Afghanistan's Zaher Shah, who was in seclusion in Rome, or discussions between some commander and Professor Bahman were heard every month in interviews on the various radio stations of Germany, America, and Britain by the Afghans, who were fed up with the communist government of Kabul.

In the case of Islamic Iran, which destroyed all the political and economic interests of the superpowers, and especially the West in the sensitive area of the Middle East with its great revolution, this constant policy of the West's spoken and written media has always been followed. Because the unity of the nation was the primary strength of the leadership in the uprising's victory, these foreign implements of domination concentrated most of their attention on sowing discord among the people.

For the reasons which have been given, whoever is able to disturb Iran's national revolutionary unity is openly welcomed by the Western media, while if the importance of the subject matter as news and the reliability of the source were a consideration (which it usually must be) such matters would either be seen as unsuitable for publication or they would be judged as very unimportant, and in general they would be evaluated in terms of the reliability of the quote or idea in terms of public criteria for acceptance and its universal applicability.

Now, in a coordinated propaganda plan, we see how the front page of the so-called reliable French newspaper LE MONDE is devoted to an interview between the newspaper's correspondent with officials from the freedom movement and to reflecting their ideas, and this most important and best newspaper reflected the views of Mr Bazargan in a totally unusual way.

Moreover, the above published material quickly found a special place in foreign radio commentaries; even British government radio cancelled its regular programming for it in order to attract greater attention to it. In an almost unprecedented schedule, it eagerly presented the material three times in Persian language programs over an 11-hour period, hoping in so doing to be able to sow discord in our nation.

What might be said concerning the subject matter of the interview is not of concern for this summary. First, the ways and reasons for the West's approach to these disruptive statements must be studied.

We recall:

The Friday prayer of 2 Farvardin this year [22 March 1985] was held absolutely unobserved and with complete calm as thousands of Tehran worshippers prayed in the midst of the roar of anti-aircraft guns beneath invading Iraqi aircraft, and there was no sign whatsoever of fear or agitation. If this had happened anywhere in the world (other than in West-upsetting Iran) it would have been the subject of thousands of news articles, films, reports, stories, poems, and so forth. The Western media, however, pointedly and maliciously ignored it.

Yet Western publications and radio stations have discussed the departure of Iranian people from the scene many times. On 22 Bahman last year [11 Feb 1985] millions of Tehran residents poured into the streets to celebrate the triumph of the revolution, and while the foreign media are very generous in estimating the numbers of the enemies of the revolution, not wishing to acknowledge the extensive presence of the people, they never mentioned the figure of at least two million people in this case; they put the number at 250,000.

The great ceremonies for the Congress of Friday and Congregational Imams and the annual Jerusalem Day marches which are held with full pageantry, whose publication could lend special credibility to Islamic Iran in the world of Islam, are always received by the news imperialists with a conspiracy of silence.

As a final example, two weeks ago the war propaganda staff furnished fully documented proof of the fraudulent nature of an Italian film published in the West depicting the killing of Iraqi prisoners by Iranians. This was done in the presence of about 40 foreign correspondents and diplomats in a fully documented and tangible way. As usual, this was deliberately given little attention by the Western and Eastern news networks and was not reflected, when it could at least have been presented as "Iran's claims."

These and tens of other prominent examples clearly demonstrate that the West, in employing this powerful network to sow doubts and discord, has launched a full-scale war of lies against the Islamic revolution, and it does not forget the slightest remark by opponents and even counterrevolutionary wings.

It is true that talks with enemies who are armed to the teeth can show the way of thinking of some liberals and welfare-seekers, who have never had a role in defending the sacred against aggressors, but there is another truth and reality in this country as well. This is the existence of millions of passionate and combative youths who consider the defense of Islam their duty, who consider the continuation of battle their responsibility as proclaimed by their leader, and who see Saddam as an animal who would destroy everyone if not controlled. These people are not counterrevolutionaries, but truly partisans of the revolution. They are ready to give their lives freely to continue their revolution, and to fight the enemy with empty hands if necessary. For these people, the ultimate goal is not victory; the ultimate goal is to fulfill responsibility and participate in defense and submission to the chief theologian. The leader and only the leader is the criterion.

Therefore the reason for the extensive publication of such remarks as these must be that such remarks are printed in the West and the enemies of the revolution utilize them to create a split in the nation's foundations and if possible disillusion the people with as a means to gain power and fight the revolution and thereby separate the people from the leadership and establish credibility for themselves, who have never taken and never will take a real step to combat the enemy.

The people must ask whose interests such comments, which are sometimes even attributed to Islam, serve, and why is the West striving so eagerly to publicize their remarks? Are not the interests of the bullying, oppressive West one with those of the Islam that nurtures oppressors? With these commentaries, is not the peace sought by these gentlemen beneficial to the West, that the news imperialists campaign so hard for it?

While there is an urgent need for peace to rebuild the desolation called a nation we inherited from the shah, must we submit instantly to whatever disgraceful peace is being promoted and discussed in the West?

For those with no objections, if they consider Iraq's government by force the same as an Islamic government and see the war as beneficial to both sides, have they understood Islam properly?

Despite the presence of aware clergy and the leadership of the Imam, should criteria given by people such as this for what is and is not Islamic be believed for our sacred defense? More importantly, should these commentaries become a means for creating a split and establishing doubt in a nation that wrought the greatest miracle of the century with empty hands, unity, and submission to its leadership? Despite the great resources of the superpowers and powerful America, this nation has been celebrating America's humiliation for six years, standing on its own feet, and given the power of resistance and confidence to the world's oppressed, and, God willing, the expansion of its movement will destroy the dynasty of oppressors.

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CSO: 4640/559

17 JUNE 1985

IRAN

## AFGHAN REFUGEES IN TEHRAN DEMAND WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET FORCES

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 28 Apr 85 p 2

[Text] Afghans living in Tehran staged a street march yesterday morning and assembled at Emam Hoseyn (Peace Be Upon Him) Square. While condemning the coup d'etat of 7 Sowr 1357 [27 Apr 1978] in Afghanistan, they called for a continuation of the battle of the Afghan Muslim Mojahedin until an Islamic government is established in this country.

News correspondents reported that yesterday morning a group of Afghan brothers and sisters residing in Tehran assembled at Baharestan Square to express their disgust and revulsion with the coup d'etat of 7 Sowr 1357 [27 Apr 1978] in Afghanistan and to condemn the continued military occupation of this country by the Soviets. They then marched toward Emam Hoseyn Square. According to the same report the demonstrators carried pictures of the Imam of the nation, Afghan martyrs and clergymen, and placards with slogans such as "continued armed struggle," "Mojahedin unity," "Islam is the only solution to the Afghanistan crisis," "We warn the United Nations, and Russian and American clowns not to play with the fate of Afghanistan's Islamic revolution," "Russia's defeat in Afghanistan is the precedent for America's removal from this country." After traversing Baharestan and Mazandaran streets, they assembled at Emam Hoseyn (Peace Be Upon Him) Square.

The same report says that at this gathering the Afghans residing in Tehran shouted slogans such as "Martyrdom, martyrdom is praise of the revolution," "The salvation of our nation is in jihad," "We stand together until the Flag group dissolves," "This is the cry of the nation, freedom or martyrdom," "In the fight to protect the Koran; giving one's life is an honor," and "Our nation's compromise with Russia is a shame and a disgrace," while demanding the immediate removal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan. Several Afghan Mojahed clergymen then gave speeches explaining the struggle of the Muslim nation of Afghanistan.

Our correspondent reports that at the conclusion of these ceremonies a resolution with 12 articles was read. This resolution condemned the coup d'etat of 7 Sowr 1357 [27 Apr 1978] and the savage massacre of the oppressed nation of Afghanistan. It also condemned the establishment of the so-called Ministry of Islamic Affairs. It said:

We believe that the only solution to the Afghanistan issue is the continuation and intensification of the Muslim nation's armed jihad; we consider any kind of political solution such as Geneva conferences and plots behind the scenes by the superpowers such as putting forward the corrupt Zaher Shah to be treason against the aspirations of the nation and we condemn them.

Another portion of this resolution announced support for the Islamic Republic of Iran and the defenseless people of Lebanon and condemned the Ba'thist Iraqi regime's bombardment of residential areas and use of chemical weapons. It said:

We call for the unity and solidarity of all Islamic parties and organizations and the Muslim people of Afghanistan, and we condemn the creation of discord and factionalism in any form.

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17 JUNE 1985

IRAN

## ISLAMIC CONFERENCE ORGANIZATION BLAMED FOR NOT CONDEMNING IRAQ

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 30 Apr 85 p 3

[Text] Despite the fact that the despicable face of Saddam's regime has been exposed in the renewed deployment of chemical weapons, the Islamic Conference Organization has chosen to maintain silence in the face of the Ba'th Party's latest crimes. It is no surprise that despite the installation of a new general secretary, no positive reaction has appeared in this organization's positions on the Ba'thist regime of Iraq's new crimes, even though the holding of office in this organization has carried and continues to carry "responsibility."

From the time Sharif ol-Din Pirzadeh succeeded Habib Shati as general secretary of the Islamic Conference Organization, there was little hope of correcting this conference's hostile policies on the Iran-Iraq war. Despite this, it was unexpected that the new general secretary would produce propaganda against the Islamic Republic of Iran along with the news imperialists.

In his most recent statement, Sharif ol-Din Pirzadeh, the Pakistani general secretary of the Islamic Conference Organization, ignoring Iran's clear position on the imposed war, said that changes in Iranian policy have brightened possibilities for an end to the war.

Remarks of this nature have been abundant in the last few days in the world press, especially in the Pakistani media. There is nothing new about the publication of news of this kind, and the news imperialists have always tried to end the war in order to conceal the Islamic Republic of Iran's rights. This is why officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran have hastened to make good use of every opportunity to explain and clarify Iran's positions on the war.

What is clear is that the recent talk about the Islamic Republic of Iran's compromising in the war or of a change in Iran's positions is the idle talk of people who wish to call attention to themselves or organizations that stand to benefit. There is no doubt that they themselves know Iran's clear positions on the war better than anyone. On the other hand, the Islamic Conference Organization, and especially its new general secretary have not yet answered the Muslim people of Iran's question, why must this organization associated with Islamic nations maintain silence in the face of Saddam's chemical crimes? Is this organization trying to outdo the Security Council in being isolated from nations by still trying to help Saddam's regime?

It is lamentable that after the exposure of Saddam's regime's criminal use of chemical weapons the Islamic Conference Organization is still fighting reality; more lamentable is the fact that it alters the truth and distorts Iran's clear positions for "self-acceptable" purposes. In any case, what must be made clear forever is, what path is the Islamic Conference Organization taking? The path of nations, or the path of American reaction?



An unwavering answer to this question can be the only effective aid to make this organization act for the rights of the Islamic nation.

The Islamic Conference Organization must quickly clarify its position on Saddam's recent chemical crimes and it must no longer put off announcing its position.

Before the new general secretary of the Islamic Conference discusses the softness of Iran's positions, he must openly condemn Saddam's regime for the continuous use of destructive chemical weapons and for the clear violation of international law in the war against Iran.

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CSO: 4640/557

# GOVERNMENT TO TRANSFER COMPANIES' SHARES TO WORKERS

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 20 Apr 85 p 1

[Text] Despite the propaganda efforts of some persons whose leanings are obvious, the government intends to transfer the shares of profitable units to workers.

After making the above statement in a gathering held by the center for the participation of workers in the factories in 17 Shahrivar Hall of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, Mahjub, the special inspector to the prime minister for labor and worker affairs, added: Based on past experiences, in transferring the shares of the factories to workers, it has been decided that initially those shares of the factories with fewer shares will be transferred.

Concerning the form of transfer in these factories, he announced that there are different proposals. Concerning the determination of the price of factories, he said: The price will be determined on the basis of the price of the factories during the period 21 March 1978-20 March 1979. In my opinion, the best way [to purchase shares] is to take the book value and purchase through overtime work and profit shares.

Then Mohammad Salamati, the cultural and parliamentary affairs deputy of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, sent greetings to the imam of the nation and congratulations on the anniversary of the day the great Prophet of Islam was appointed and said: The past capitalists were able to gain capital by plundering the resources of this country and taking advantage of the labor of you beloved workers and farmers. But with the Islamic revolution, equity and justice must be implemented and we must have a sound economy. The worker must feel that he owns his production unit.

In conclusion, referring to the approach of labor day, he asked the workers to prepare themselves to celebrate this day as magnificently as possible in order to send the message of the culture and lofty values of Islam to workers all over the world.

## PEOPLE'S ROLE IN HOUSING CONSTRUCTION DISCUSSED BY OFFICIAL

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 23 Apr 85 p 11

[Text] The minister of housing and urban development announced his views on the issue of housing and said: The supposition that generally exists among the people is that a particular organization such as the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development is responsible for providing housing. We must resolve this problem with the help of you brothers who are charged with this responsibility. The Constitution has made the government responsible for resolving the problem of housing. On the whole, the issue of housing is not the responsibility of one sector alone. As I have said before, it is dependent on various factors, mostly manpower, which must be taken from the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education; the issue of the construction, which relates to the Ministry of Heavy Industries; the national resources and financial assistance, which must be provided by the banks; and other factors concerning various ministries. Of course, the main duty of the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development is to guide the people in the production of housing and to provide housing through the policies of this organization. Thank God, the meetings that we have had with the concerned brother ministers hold the promise of the possibility for coordination. Therefore, our responsibility is mainly to make policies, coordinate these factors that have a role in connection with the issue of housing, provide direction and analyze the events which occur outside. In planning, we can do something to have the people become involved in the issue of housing, that is, to let them know what must be done and what is their function.

The minister of housing and urban development added: However, the participation of the people in all aspects, including finances, management, control, planning and design, in the construction of their own housing is a plan under discussion. As I said, of course, this is a general rule. Later, in our policies, we will see that this general rule must be implemented, in any case. For example, in regards to construction, in the large cities, we are supposed to have prefabricated units, in the mid-sized cities and the centers of the provinces, mostly

partially prefabricated units, and in small towns, single units. The reason for choosing this system is that in large cities, if we want to build single units, the majority of workers involved in this segment are from the agricultural sector. Then those persons who come to Tehran and begin with a simple construction job later remain in Tehran. Essentially, after reaching a reasonable economic level, they will even leave the construction sector and go to the services sector. For this reason, we propose prefabricated projects in Tehran and large cities, considering the existing potential in Tehran and large cities. Whether or not we will expand these factories in the future, this is something that must be studied later. But at present, we must make use of the existing potential in Tehran and other large cities. Concerning housing funds, the minister of housing said: Suppose for financial aid to small cities we set the waiting period to 6 months, for large cities and provincial capitals to 12 months, and for Tehran to 18 months, and the people can deposit their money gradually or all at once in order to request loans. Then, anyone who deposits money in the small cities will receive a loan much sooner. In the same way, the amount in loans that we pay in the small cities will be more than the amount in the existing reserves. For instance, in the small cities, a person will be given double or four times the amount he has deposited, double for six-month deposits and four times for 12-month deposits. If a person deposits an amount of money in a small city, after 12 months, he will be able to borrow 4 million rials for every 1 million rials he has deposited. But, if the same person comes to a big city, for instance the provincial capitals, his average loan will be 1.5 times the amount of his deposit after 12 months. In other words, not only will the amount of time be longer, but the level of loans will be lower compared to small cities. If he deposits this amount for 24 months, he will be able to receive up to 3 times this amount in loans. In this program, which will be announced on 6 May, the people will know precisely what they must do to obtain housing. The duty of the banks as well as the duty of the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development is also very clear. The minister of housing and urban development said:

One of the sectors of our economy is the cooperative sector. In accordance with the Constitution, we are responsible for making maximum use of this sector. Of course, cooperatives in regards to housing must be worked on gradually and must be defined in their own terms. Today, cooperatives exist which, while they help solve their own housing problems, must be given direction in regards to building housing. As I said, we must work more in the cooperative sector in regards to building housing and we must provide more guidance. What exists now is in the form of a group who coordinate and cooperate in terms of obtaining land and other related aid. We expect much more from the cooperatives. As I said, I think that cooperatives must at least be supported in

regards to construction, which of course many of them are engaged in, and also in regards to management of financial aid, construction and control over all these issues related to housing. It will require some work, but, in any case, we will support and help the existing cooperatives in their present form in regards to their own housing problems.

Concerning the role of the private sector in regards to housing, the minister of housing said:

The private sector, that is, the public or all the people, involves all those who are engaged in housing construction. Note 67 of the urban land law gives builders the opportunity to build. Also, what was announced before, in terms of 10 units, 50 units and above 50 units, will give the chance for participation in more specialized construction sectors. Two other articles of this law define construction for the cooperative sector and for individual housing. The urban land law, which apparently involves Articles 66, 67 and 68, defines the procedure for the people's participation in individual, cooperative and specialist areas, and we have announced this.

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17 JUNE 1985

IRAN

## RECONSTRUCTION PROJECTS ACCEPTED TOWARD TAX PAYMENTS

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 24 Apr 85 p 14

[Interview with Orumiyyeh Governor Fereydun Entezari by SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Orumiyyeh; date not specified]

[Text] Orumiyyeh, SOBH-E AZADEGAN reporter. In an exclusive interview with SOBH-E AZADEGAN, brother Fereydun Entezari, the governor of Orumiyyeh, spoke on new issues concerning developmental work, projects underway and welfare and social programs in the province and responded to questions.

In connection with the new plan for payment of taxes and spending the taxes collected from factories, companies and businesses in the province, the governor of Orumiyyeh spoke of new issues, which make up a significant part of this interview, including the developmental and health plans by the owners of businesses in place of tax payments.

In an exclusive interview with the correspondent of SOBH-E AZADEGAN in the area of developmental works, projects and programs underway, brother Fereydun Entezari said: Our policy in this area is based on the idea that the incomplete work of the previous year is pursued and completed and the developmental budget, which is about 18.5 (percent) of the budget of the province is used on these projects. The planning and design for the period 21 March 1986-20 March 1987 will be carried out by careful determination of the priorities and the factor of oppression.

In connection with the new plan for the payment of taxes in the province, the governor of Orumiyyeh said: The good news that I have for committed establishments, factories, unions, cooperative companies and guilds is that in the budget for the period 21 March 1985-20 March 1986, it has been anticipated that all these gentlemen, both individually and in a group, in place of tax payments, may implement projects that the developmental officials of the city of Orumiyyeh or other parts of the province need to carry out and supervise the spending of the taxes they

pay. On the other hand, they can build a school, a hospital or a treatment center and the name of the person or group or the union building this plan will be installed as a memento in these places. I hope this will be a step in the increasing participation of the people in developmental and welfare affairs.

In Addition to the Qushchi Road, the Naqdeh-Orumiyyeh Road Also Became a 24-Hour Road

In the part of his interview concerning political and security areas, brother Fereydun Entezari said: With the grace of God and the cooperation of the beloved brothers in the Guards Corps, gendarmerie, revolution committees and Police Department, the security of Orumiyyeh is increasing every day. Every day a repentant person yields himself and his weapons to the beloved combatants. Also, with the creation of numerous bases in the heart of and around the city of Orumiyyeh, by the power of God, after the Salmas-Orumiyyeh road became operational as a 24-hour road, recently the Orumiyyeh-Naqdeh road also was announced by the brothers of the gendarmerie and Guards Corps to be operating 24 hours a day. I take this opportunity to announce that those who repent and yield to the Islamic forces will be accepted in the warm and loving center of the Islamic Republic.

Grounds for Exchange of Goods with Turkey on the Border of West Azarbaijan

Concerning the economy, brother Entezari said: We are trying to leave the affairs to the people and to create incentives for the participation of the people in economic affairs. With the help of Almighty God, we have certain plans underway involving border exchanges with the merchants of Turkey, which will be carried out with the cooperation of the central office of trade and the Customs Office. In this way, the needs of the Turkish provinces which have a common border with West Azarbaijan will be provided by merchants, up to 1 million rials, through the export of goods vis-a-vis the import of legal goods in accordance with the regulations and by obtaining the necessary permit.

Participation of the People and the Improvement of the Bread Situation

Concerning bread in the city of Orumiyyeh, the governor said: With numerous conciliatory sessions and seeking help from the committed bakers of the city, with the grace of God, the bread situation has reached desirable stage. We expect the honorable citizens to help us with regular inspections and by proper behavior in these affairs, because in our opinion, the participation of the people is necessary in all affairs.

### Filet of Beef at 750 Rials Per Kg

Concerning the purchase of domestic livestock and its distribution by the butcher shops, the governor of Orumiyyeh said: Among the other steps taken by the Governor's Office is the purchase of domestic livestock. For about a year, the project for purchasing sheep has been implemented, and at present in Orumiyyeh, with the help of the meat organization and Orumiyyeh slaughterhouse, the plan involving cows is also being implemented. In other words, filet of veal is sold by the butchers to the citizens for 750 rials per kg. In this case, too, we ask the people of Orumiyyeh to investigate and report any violators.

### Sixty Percent of Goods for the Mosques Is Distributed Through Another Channel

Concerning the distribution of household goods, the governor of Orumiyyeh said: In regards to items whose sale is announced permissible by the Ministry of Commerce, the businesses and central office of commerce are making an effort to ensure that these items are found on the market at reasonable prices. The Governor's Office has tried with the cooperation of the central office of commerce to take other items out of the mosques and to distribute them through the concerned organizations, with inspiration from the programs of Grand Ayatollah Montazeri, so that at the present, 60 percent of goods have been taken out of the mosques and are distributed through other channels. God willing, the other 40 percent will also be taken out of the mosques. In order to achieve this goal, the Governor's Office of Orumiyyeh has requested the help of economic and distribution experts and the increasing assistance of the people.

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CSO: 4640/553



17 JUNE 1985

IRAN

## BRIEFS

FARS DEVELOPMENTAL PROJECTS--In the planning for this year for Fars Province, attention has been paid to the agricultural, industrial and non-petroleum export sectors as the three main areas of activities. According to IRNA, in the meeting of the supreme council of planning of the Province, the governor general of Fars announced the above statement and explained the importance of attention to villages in the plan for this year. The governor general of Fars said that the industries sector has the least expectations of the economic sectors of the Province and said: In order to succeed in the agricultural and industries sector of the Province, we preferred to activate the foreign trade and non-petroleum export sector. From the revenues obtained from this sector, both agriculture and industry will be strengthened. According to this report, the head of planning and budget of the Province announced the developmental budget for the executive organizations of Fars Province during the current year, a total of 10,550,641,000 rials, and presented the itemized figures of the budget to those present. [Text] [Tehran BURS in Persian 25 Apr 85 p 1] 10,000

CSO: 4640/556

## ELECTED OFFICIALS MUST SET EXAMPLE FOR BUREAUCRACY

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 29 Apr 85 p 2

[Editorial: SUBSTANTIAL POWERS TO ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES SEEN AS ONLY WAY TO CHECK THE EXCESSES OF BUREAUCRACY AND EVILS OF CORRUPTION, BRIBERY, ETC.]

[Text] Prime Minister Mr Mohammad Khan Junejo has announced that he will take severe steps against officers found working against the interests of the people and the society. He made this statement during the course of a reception held at Faisalabad. He was responding to complaints that the bureaucracy was not treating the elected representatives of the people in a proper and befitting manner and that they do not even cooperate with them although government officials are the servants of the people and should not distinguish between the people of towns and those from villages.

The bureaucracy has been given such warnings by every regime. But these warnings have no effect on them because the authorities giving the warnings fail to set examples of selfless service themselves and make the bureaucracy do things that are not right and legally proper. Once this process starts, then warnings become simply routine. It is the legal and moral duty of the representatives of the people to put and maintain the bureaucracy on the right track. But when they seek privileges and special treatment for themselves, and instead of serving the interests and welfare of the people take advantage of their power and position to dominate the people, then the bureaucracy is encouraged by these actions and commits even greater excesses in taking advantage of the people.

The prime minister during the course of his statement also advised the elected representatives of the people to act with courage and point out officials involved in corruption and bribery. This advice is quite correct and proper. Selfless service by the elected representatives of the people and their courage will not only enhance their credibility--they will at the same time be performing the legal and moral duty they owe to the people who voted for them. The bureaucracy will be forced to change its attitude and line of action. The prime minister during the

course of an earlier meeting with the elected representatives of the people had stated in clear and unambiguous terms that just like the people in every locality, the representatives of those localities also know which administrative officials take bribes and by pointing them out they would be helping to prevent the recurrence of such practices. The prime minister's Faisalabad address has at least made it clear that the elected representatives of the people have informed him that the bureaucracy does not treat them well and does not cooperate with them. But none of the elected representatives named the corrupt officials. Such an act undoubtedly requires great courage. There is also no doubt that only those survive who act with courage and valor. If for some reason the elected representatives hesitate to act with courage, then it is clear that the bureaucracy too will have no fear of being called to account for its actions.

The prime minister also said that people who have reaped 500,000 rupees in return for a 5,000-rupee gift certainly cannot complain about bribery and corruption. His statement is quite valid. And the expectation that he will take the necessary steps to bring within the grasp of the law the elements taking and making bribes is not unfounded. If examples of concrete and positive action are not taken publicly and the entire time is wasted in merely denouncing bribery and corruption and in issuing verbal warnings to the bureaucracy, such actions will no doubt draw public applause but the worsened situation will remain unchanged. If such actions on the one hand increase the despair and disappointment of the people, on the other hand the bureaucracy, knowing from experience that blusterers take no action, will make a mockery of such talk.

Mr Junejo also discussed the situation prevailing during the former Awami regime. What he said with reference to the so-called "police confrontations" was not altogether inaccurate. But the question that arises is that with the passing away of the Awami regime, should the rumors allowed during this regime not become null and void as well. The prime minister also stated that since he has taken charge of the government following the elections, true democracy has been established in the country. This is nothing more than a claim. It is true that he has been in charge of the government for the past 5-6 weeks. But his statement that "genuine democracy has been established" is true to the extent that a federal cabinet has been formed, that a cabinet has been formed in Baluchistan and that the provincial cabinet in Sind has taken the oath of office, but in the two remaining provinces, the North West Frontier Province and Punjab, the establishment of democracy is limited, only the chief ministers having taken the oath of office. The reason for the unusual delay in the forming of cabinets is an open secret. But when such basic and important tasks have not been completed for many weeks past, the claim that "genuine democracy has been established" does not seem to be any closer to the truth. The bureaucracy that is being advised and warned about adopting the right path, and which knows the reasons in much more detail than the general public for the delay in the formation of cabinets, becomes much more resolute and dauntless.

Putting the bureaucracy on the right path and taking serious steps to account for and prevent bribery and corruption is not only essential but also of the utmost importance. But it is equally important that the elected representatives of the people also strictly follow and adhere to the right path. The more selflessly the elected representatives of the people serve the interests and welfare of the people that voted for them, the more the bureaucracy will be made to account for its actions and the greater will be its fear of the elected officials. The more importance is given to the welfare and interests of the people in the programs of the government initiated by the elected representatives of the people, the more the bureaucracy will be forced to give equal consideration to its actions and deeds. If on the other hand ministers consider expensive residential premises as a mark of their high office and the elected representatives look upon VIP treatment or a monthly quota of arms licenses or other privileges as their goal, the bureaucracy, knowing the true character of the elected representatives, will give due consideration to their wishes and privileges. In this way, real power and authority rests in the hands of the bureaucracy. They keep the elected representatives of the people happy and contented with their favors and thus do not feel the need for any reform of actions that create difficulties and deprivations for the people.

9315

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